# policy REVIEW

Summer 1984 Number 29 Four Dollars

## Sex and God in American Politics

Midge Decter
M. Stanton Evans
Jerry Falwell
Milton Friedman
Ronald Godwin
Orrin Hatch
Jack Kemp
Irving Kristol
Howard Phillips
Phyllis Schlafly
Seymour Siegel
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Paul M. Weyrich

## Indian War in Nicaragua

Bernard Nietschmann

## Workout for Medicine

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Goldwater's Pyrrhic Defeat
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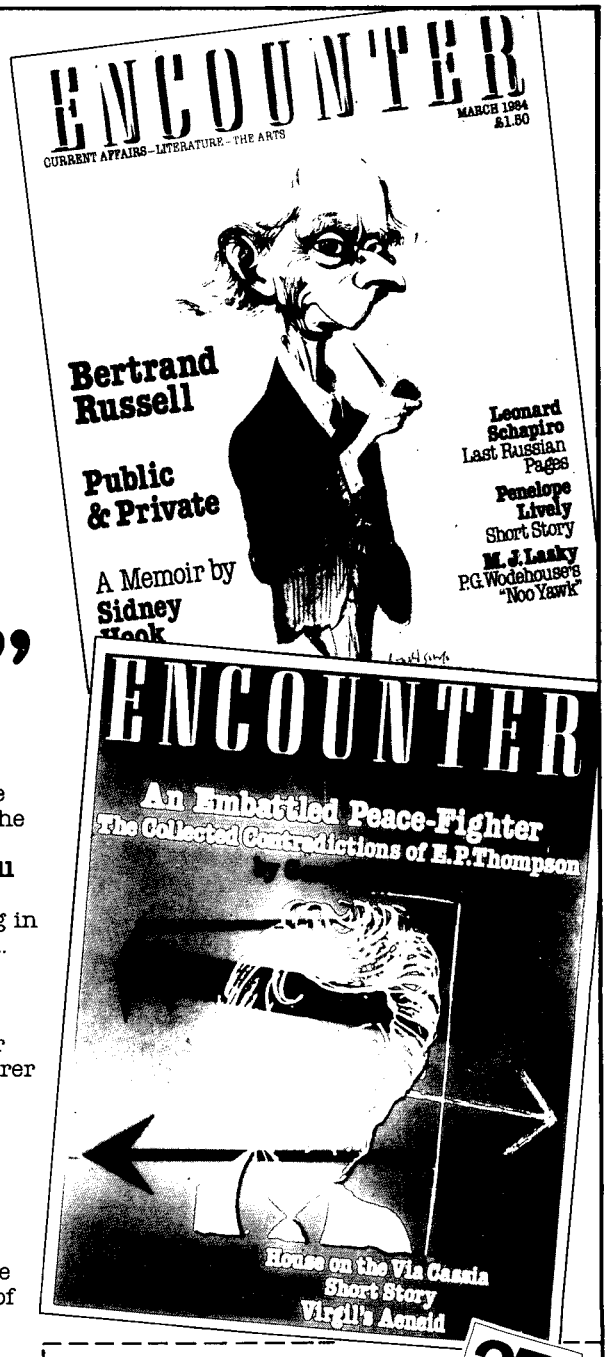


So one of Britain's leading political commentators, **Peregrine Worsthorne,** wrote of ENCOUNTER in 1983, shortly before the magazine's 30th anniversary. He was echoing the opinion of the **International Herald Tribune** ("Encounter ... one of the few great beacons of English-language journalism"), of **George Will** in **Newsweek** ("indispensable"), of **Bernard Levin** in the **London Times** ("never produces an edition without something in it that is well worth reading and not to be found elsewhere") ... and many others.

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Summer 1984

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# Letters

## Walter Berns, E.J. Dionne, Jr., Governor Pierre du Pont IV, The Honorable Edward King, Jonathan Knight, Gary McDowell, Patrick McGuigan, George Nash, Robert Reid, Richard Wright

### Governor's Delight

Dear Sir:

As governor of Massachusetts during the first two (and by most accounts, most difficult) years of Proposition 2 ½, I read Judy Katz's article, "Business as Unusual in the Bay State" (Spring 1984), on the legacy of Proposition 2 ½ with particular interest.

I ran for governor of Massachusetts in 1978 on a property tax cutting platform, and my subsequent victories in the Democratic primary and general election indicated that Massachusetts property taxpayers were tired of paying the second highest property taxes in the nation. In an attempt to follow through on my most important campaign pledge, I proposed a tight, zero cap on local spending and property tax increases, and made it one of the focal points of my first year in office.

Unfortunately, the will of the people does not always translate into public policy at any level, and in this case, special interests who depended on the property tax fought me tooth and nail as my proposal moved through the legislative arena. After months of wrangling, it was agreed to settle on a two-year 4 percent growth cap that was easy to override in the second year.

This kept the spenders and taxers at bay for one year. For the first time in several decades, the statewide property tax levy went down by 1 percent in Fiscal Year 1980. Unfortunately, the lid was blown off the cap during my second year in office, and property tax rates across the state jumped tremendously during FY 1981. This was inevitable because elected officials, not the voters on a ballot, have the power to override. But help was just around the corner.

In 1979 the citizens of the Commonwealth, with the help of a grass-roots organization called Citizens For Limited Taxation and a business organization called the Massachusetts High Technology Council, mounted a massive signature drive to put property tax reform and relief before the Massachusetts legislature in the spring of 1980. They collected over 61,000 certified signatures, submitted them to the secretary of state's office, and then watched in dismay as the General Court voted Proposition 2 ½ down, 145–5. So much for tax reform.

However, by returning to the streets and collecting an additional 10,000 signatures, these groups put their tax reform question on the statewide ballot for the general election in 1980. Turnout in Massachusetts was particularly high that year, and Proposition 2 ½ garnered 1.4 million votes, or 60 percent of those cast. As Judy Katz points out in her story, things have never been quite the same.

I might add that Massachusetts city and town governments, as well as the state, have experienced tremendous revenue growth during the past three years, due primarily to an exploding economy, and it's worth noting that the economic expansion we've been blessed with began subsequent to the passage of Proposition 2 ½. Ms. Katz is correct in pointing out that 2 ½ has served as a real management prod at the state and local level, but it has also given Massachusetts an 18 percent drop in the total tax burden on citizens, rapidly rising personal income growth, and an economic climate that is second to none.

Unfortunately, there have been attempts to tinker with 2 ½ during the past two years. I pledged to veto any legislation that would have tampered with the mandate of the people following the passage of Proposition 2 ½, and I meant it.



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People knew that, and during my last two years in office, no "amendments," "modifications," or "perfections" to Proposition 2 ½ were even put forth unless they retained the support of CLT and the High Tech Council.

My successor, Michael Dukakis, has not seen fit to make that same pledge, and his decision to put 2 ½ out on a limb has left it open to all sorts of ill-advised assaults and attacks from the taxers and spenders who descend on the State House on a daily basis. Fortunately, CLT, the High Tech Council, and the people of Massachusetts have kept any of them from being successful—so far. For example, the governor put forth a local aid plan in April 1983 that contained a proposal that would have taken the right to override Proposition 2 ½ away from the people in 11 communities—a decision that at that time was up to the voters of each community—and would have given it back to the city councils: *the same people who blew the lid off the 4 percent cap in 1981 by voting to override!*

Those 11 communities represented 680,000 voters—23 percent of the state's voting populace—and were supported by the largest coalition of special interest groups ever established on Beacon Hill. After five weeks of intense debate, the governor withdrew the proposal, but only because the people made their opinions known—loud and clear. Other plans to erase parts of Proposition 2½ have bubbled just below the surface as well.

Mark my words. As long as Massachusetts has a governor who does not share the concerns of the people on taxes and tax reform, citizen initiatives like Proposition 2 ½ will remain in constant danger. It will be up to the CLTs and the High Tech Councils to keep the public on its toes, but each of these organizations has only three employees and must rely on the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to successfully defend the mantle of 2 ½.

I sincerely hope that two years from now Judy Katz will be able to write another piece on the innovative and imaginative reform that has been wrought by 2 ½, and I hope the Massachusetts economy continues to thrive in a tax-competitive environment. Lower taxes and a strong probusiness, propeople climate have made Massachusetts the envy of our nation. Outrageous taxes and an antibusiness climate found Massachusetts labeled taxachusetts and in economic doldrums. Let us hope that those privileged to hold elected office know and understand this and act accordingly. *Verbum sap sat.*

Edward J. King
Governor, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1978–1982

*Too often we in government are concerned about protecting—or enlarging—our turf, or we are fearful about what the voters and taxpayers will think if we change things.*

*Governor Pierre du Pont IV*

Dear Sir:

I read Judy Katz's article with great interest and was encouraged to see that after some preliminary hand-wringing government officials got down to the business of living within their means. It is unfortunate, however, that voters in Massachusetts had to step in to make government more responsive. Should not the government have reached the same conclusion on its own?

Too often we in government are concerned about protecting—or enlarging—our turf, or we are fearful about what the voters and taxpayers will think if we change things. But without innovation, without a willingness to buck the trend, we condemn the taxpayer to shouldering the cost of bigger and bigger government. Not necessarily better, just bigger and more expensive.

Fortunately, we have been seeing government leaders bucking the trend more these days. During his first term, President Reagan declared his program of "New Federalism," ending a decades-long concentration of more and more power in Washington and returning it to the states. And in Massachusetts, prodded by taxpayers tired of seeing more and more of their earnings eaten up by government, school systems and municipalities apparently have begun to think long and hard about what they were doing with taxpayers' money.

In both cases, the business-as-usual approach has been discarded in favor of a pragmatic approach to government—one that takes into account what government *should* be doing, and how it can do it more effectively.

When I became governor of Delaware in 1977, I inherited the results of the business-as-usual approach: the state had the lowest credit rating and highest personal income tax rate in the nation; unemployment was high, economic development was at a standstill, and government was being kept afloat by tax increase after tax increase (22 of them in five years). One of our first priorities was returning control to state finances, and answering the question, what is government's proper role?

The answer: to provide the opportunity for individuals and families to grow, prosper, and excel by creating an honest, professional, and financially stable government. Seven years of conservative economics later, we have enacted constitutional spending restraints, our credit rating has been raised five times, unemployment is well below



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the national average, thousands of new jobs have been created, the cost of government has remained constant in inflation-adjusted dollars, and our *second* cut in personal income taxes will be enacted in June.

There was no "taxpayers' revolt" in Delaware. Instead, government proved it could be proactive rather than just reactive, and the voters have not found it necessary to tie the hands of government to control it.

Pierre S. du Pont IV
Governor
State of Delaware

**Phillips Curve**

Dear Sir:

In "Four Million New Jobs" (Spring 1984), Grover Norquist describes the Phillips curve as "the theory that there exists an inverse relationship between employment [sic] and inflation." I think he means a "direct relationship," or else he means "between unemployment and inflation." If the relationship were inverse, then the Phillips curve would have correctly predicted an employment increase in 1983, at least compared to trends in the previous decade.

Anyone who cites the Phillips curve, which tracked unemployment vs. inflation in Britain from 1861 to 1957 (Ammer & Ammer), is simply blowing wind-making flation about inflation, as it were.

Jack Fay
New York, New York

**On The Court**

Dear Sir:

Terry Eastland's article, "The Burger Court and the Founding Fathers" (Spring 1984), confronts readers with the central legal policy question of our day: the proper role of the courts in a democratic society. In one area after another, the Burger Court has all too frequently represented a continuation of the activist trends begun under Earl Warren.

Admittedly, the Burger Court not only refused to question the Warren Court's *Miranda* decision, but also reinforced and enlarged the holding of the case. In *Lemon v. Kurtzman,* the Court devised an easy to articulate, but impossible to apply three-part test to determine if there has been a violation of the Establishment Clause. Furthermore, the Burger Court must take the blame for the most activist decision of all time, *Roe v. Wade.* And in the other cases cited by Eastland and with regard to reapportionment, mandatory busing, and the due process and equal protection cases, it seems the Burger Court has accepted rather than review or narrow the activist decisions of the Warren Court. In a burst of frustration following one disheartening decision a couple of years ago, I told one reporter that the Burger Court was "dedicated to implementing the liberal agenda in every walk of American life."

However, on reflection, there are indications that the Court at least in some areas is willing to part company with the activist Warren Court. The cases involving church/state issues are prime examples. As Eastland mentioned, in *Marsh v. Chambers* last term, the Court did not use the tripartite *Lemon* test showing a possible willingness to look for a new standard of review in Establishment Clause cases. This trend toward a more flexible standard of review was reaffirmed in the *Lynch v. Donnelly* case decided this term. The Court, in determining whether or not the nativity scene erected by the city of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, was a violation of the Establishment Clause, used the *Lemon* test, but at the same time stated "we have repeatedly emphasized our unwillingness to be confined to any single test or criterion in this sensitive area." The Court's ultimate decision in the *Jaffree* silent prayer case will vindicate either my cautious optimism or Terry Eastland's understandable pessimism.

In the area of criminal law the Court has often accepted the arguments of the law enforcement community and the prosecutors. Last term the Court asked for re-argument in the *Illinois v. Gates* case to consider modification of the exclusionary rule. While the Court did not modify the exclusionary rule in that case, it has indicated a willingness to re-examine the rule this term in *U.S. v. Leon.* The Court will address the specific issue of whether or not the exclusionary rule should be modified to permit admission of evidence seized in reasonable, good faith reliance on a search warrant that is later held defective.

So while restrained decisions are far too few, I am optimistic that the Court could return to the role envisioned by the Framers of the Constitution. We can hope for an era of principled judicial restraint if President Reagan makes just two new appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court. Many of the close decisions will fall the right way if there are just two more justices who feel bound by the Constitution and the doctrine of separation of powers on which our form of government is founded. The four distinguished legal minds mentioned in Richard Vigilante's article in the same issue would make excellent nominees for the President.

Patrick B. McGuigan
Judicial Reform Project
Institute for Government and Politics
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I have read Terry Eastland's article with great interest. With characteristic grace, Mr. Eastland has offered what may be the best concise account of the dilemmas posed by the judicial activism of the Supreme Court, first under Chief Justice Warren and now under Chief Justice Burger. But there is a problem in the account; it strikes me that the most serious problem posed by the Court's ideological meandering is not that we may someday have "a Constitution without constitutionalism." The true tragedy is deeper and more immediate. What we already have is a constitutionalism without a Constitution. What needs to be considered is not



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so much the past as the future. How, precisely, might we as a people restore the Constitution to the primacy in judicial decisions it once enjoyed? The diagnosis is clear; we now need a remedy.

As Mr. Eastland's account makes clear, the new activism takes one of two tracks: it either stems from applying the Bill of Rights to the states or from using the Fourteenth Amendment as an avenue to enter the administrative arenas of state power. As I have argued in other pages, a possible remedy for this judicial malady is to amend the Constitution to restore something of the original federal balance of the Constitution. A Federalism Amendment would establish in unambiguous terms two principles that have been *read* out of the Constitution by the courts (rather than *amended* out by the formal method): First, that the states retain sovereignty sufficient to truly govern; and second, that such a federal balance is a legitimate political goal under our Constitution.

Mr. Eastland's account of these matters suggests the path that needs to be taken. By explicitly rejecting the notion that the Bill of Rights applies to the states (in effect, resuscitating John Marshall's 1833 opinion on that in *Barron v. Baltimore,* and all constitutional law on the point up to 1925) we could effectively curb the kinds of activism pointed to under the first several amendments—from religious freedoms to the rights of the criminally accused. By restricting the range of the courts' historic equitable remedial powers under the Fourteenth Amendment, a Federalism Amendment could effectively curb the sort of prescriptive policymaking Mr. Eastland shows to have been taking place—from mandatory school busing to the restructuring of state institutions according to what strikes a federal judge as decent or moral.

In brief, a Federalism Amendment would have the salutary effect of returning the important decisions over the public good to the people. And within the institutional contrivances provided for by the original Constitution—not the least of which was federalism—that is what popular government is all about.

*In brief a Federalism Amendment would have the salutary effect of returning the important decisions over the public good to the people.*
*Gary McDowell*

Gary L. McDowell
Co-Director, Center for the Study of the Constitution
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Sir:

There was a time when liberals—say, devotees of William O. Douglas—were in the habit of expressing their disdain for Chief Justice Burger and Justice Blackmun by referring to them as "the Minnesota Twins." That was a long time ago. Even as a metaphor, however, there was something inappropriate about this. After all, the eponymous Minnesota Twins were performing better in Minneapolis than they ever had in Washington where they were the Senators (and famous for being first in war, first in peace, and last in the American League), and, from the liberals' standpoint, it wasn't long before the "Twins" began to do as well on the Court as the Twins were doing on the diamond. Terry Eastland tells this story, and what a story it is.

What he does not tell us—reserving it for another day?—is how it happened that the careful, almost celibate Harry Blackmun, to refer to the most conspicuous case, became the father of so many unborn children, or how this "strict constructionist" could become the author of *Roe v. Wade.* The explanation has something to do with the Washington climate, which over the years has proved to be insalubrious for baseball and conservatism alike. With four more years, President Reagan may be able to do something about this, but, when it comes to the appointment of Supreme Court justices, he must bear in mind that a Republican label or even a reputation for conservatism is no proof against the local vapors. They can infect almost anyone, as Eisenhower learned to his sorrow. (We ought to remember that he appointed not only Earl Warren but William Brennan.) What is required of a Supreme Court justice is a blend of humility—as Learned Hand used to say, a federal judge is not supposed to be a Platonic guardian—and the confidence or strength that accompanies intellectual stature. Only with that confidence can the Supreme Court justice resist the blandishments of the national press and the prestigious law faculties. Absent such appointments (as the lawyers are wont to say), the Court will behave in the future as it has in the past, so ably described by Mr. Eastland, and the most conservative among us will be reduced to calling for the most radical solutions: the popular election of federal judges. Elections are decided in the country, not (thank goodness) in Washington.

Walter Berns
John M. Olin Distinguished Scholar in Constitutional and Legal Studies
American Enterprise Institute
Washington, D.C.

**Land Grab**

Dear Sir:

I am appalled by the sophistry in the article "How to Win in El Salvador" (Winter 1984), particularly over the issue of "land reform,"



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which so enthralls Messrs. Bernstein and Waghelstein. But considering the neo-Stalinist bent of the Navy and Army War Colleges, as reflected by their in-house journals, I'm not surprised. What's bad economics is lousy politics!

For the real nature of the land reform, read Tom Bethell's "Land Grab in El Salvador" (*National Review,* February 24, 1984). Mexico's collective agriculture and economy illustrate the worthlessness of said policy: massive food imports, a demoralized farmer force, illegal emigration to the United States, a roaring 60 percent unemployment rate, 200 percent inflation, and a parasitic, genocidal bureaucracy to "run" things.

Robert Sépic-Rodríguez
Mexico

**Censorship**

Dear Sir:

When Paul M. Weyrich quoted Irving Kristol (review of *Reflections of a Neoconservative,* (Winter 1984) in a favorable light he continued the childish distortion of a poorly understood view. Weyrich stated "Mr. Kristol makes a simple but devastatingly effective point that if those libertarians who are against all forms of censorship really don't believe that no one was ever corrupted by a book, then 'you have to also believe that no one was ever improved by a book (or a play or a movie).' "

Unfortunately, Mr. Kristol's point (if accurately excerpted) is, if anything, devastatingly misleading, as I thought Mr. Weyrich should have been aware. The libertarian position is not so innocently naive as Mr. Weyrich believes. Principled opposition to censorship in any form is not based on the ability or inability of any work to influence its readers (or viewers or listeners), but rather on the immorality of censorship.

Censorship is based on the notion that Jack has the right to tell Jill what she can or cannot read (or view or hear). Libertarians reject that concept of "rights" as immoral use of force, whether Jack is a government censor or a private individual. We have only to review the history of European censorship, especially in the late 18th century, to know what such paternalistic violence (or threat of violence) can lead to. Many conservatives forget that European princes had prodemocratic literature censored for "moral," not political, reasons.

Any government structure should be so designed as to minimize the damage wrought if the worst of men hold power in it. Censorship and other forms of government control can only be truly effective under the best possible people. The opportunities for abuse call to mind the disgusting proceedings of the Texas Schoolbook Commission every year. Political maneuvering replaces parental choice, and propaganda becomes more important than education. A conservative call for censorship cannot rationally produce anything other than political control of publications.

Libertarians are sharply aware of the influence of literature, plays, newspapers, TV, and other media. Far from denying that they are potent forces for good or ill, they recognize that influence. Where they differ from many (not all) conservatives is in a recognition of the immense harm government censorship will most certainly bring, as it has in the past. If human beings are responsible, living children of God, and not the wards of self-righteous and self-appointed guardians of the public morals, they are responsible for what they read. If they have legitimate guardians (e.g., parents), the guardians can and should exercise censorship.

In a less paternalistic age, the average citizen controlled what his children read or saw. At that time, public ridicule and social pressure accomplished more than our latter-day censors have managed to accomplish. If morals are at an all time low today, it cannot be blamed on inapt censorship, but rather on those who replaced individual censorship with government censorship.

*The libertarian position is not so naive as Mr. Weyrich believes. Opposition to censorship is not based on the ability or inability of a work to influence its readers, but rather on the immorality of censorship.*

*Robert Reid*

None of this should be new to Mr. Weyrich. It is basic, and so essential to the libertarian position, that to mistake it is to show complete ignorance of a position he feels free to criticize in print.

I do not intend this as a criticism of Mr. Weyrich, specifically; after all, his article dealt with much more, and the quote that led to this letter was only a small part of the article. What I hope to correct is the simplistic, indeed, childish view of the libertarian position which dominates both the liberal and conservative press. As libertarians repeatedly are forced to state: A completely libertarian society would not be a utopia, but it would be far less violent.

Robert F. Reid
R. F. Reid, Inc.
Fort Worth, Texas

**Keeping Secrets**

Dear Sir:

In his survey of statutes that aim at preventing the unauthorized disclosure of defense information ("Can Democracy Keep Secrets?" Fall 1983) Guenter Lewy asks



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whether scientists can be persuaded to cooperate with government in accepting the need for some restraints on the free dissemination of unclassified information. The question implies that scientists have not been cooperative, when, in fact, the opposite is true. Researchers have proposed, and in some cases agreed to, policies that would limit freedom to circulate the results of unclassified research. The Public Cryptography Study Group, convened in 1980 by the American Council on Education, with its members drawn from the academic community and the National Security Agency, is one example of scientists attempting to cooperate with the government that runs counter to Lewy's apparent concerns. In addition, the record of researchers as a group belies the suspicion that they will not act responsibly to inform the government of a discovery that might harm the nation's security if released to the public. Indeed, theirs is a laudable record of responsibility and achievement.

Professor Lewy's question, however, points to a more fundamental issue, which Lewy himself recognizes: that no system of restraint, legislative or otherwise, will be effective in a democracy unless it is seen by researchers as, in Lewy's words, "fair, just, and necessary." These qualities are not to be found in the several initiatives that the Reagan administration, acting in the name of national security, has taken to restrain the open circulation of ideas, this despite urgings by the American Association of University Professors, the National Academy of Sciences, and others to limit the impact of these restrictions upon scholarship and research.

Consider the most recent action taken by the administration to curtail free expression, the March 1983 Presidential Directive on Safeguarding National Security information. The directive places more than 100,000 government employees and some 15,000 federal contractors indefinitely under the constraints of government censorship. These persons, who currently have access to highly classified intelligence information, are required to submit to a government agency for prior review virtually everything they write (including letters to the editor and works of fiction), even after they leave government service, before discussing what they have written with or showing it to any other person not authorized to have access to the classified information.

National security certainly requires secrecy in some areas, but the procedures for restraining free expression, to the extent that any are required, must be precise, narrowly defined, and applied only in exceptional cases, for otherwise the exercise of the freedom would have slight value for the purpose it is meant to achieve.

These limits do not appear in the directive. The reach of the directive is without parallel in modern memory. It may be applied to the writings of thousands of persons who have had, now have, or will have access to classified intelligence information. The administration has not identified any genuine problem in controlling the distribution or release of classified information to justify the unbridled sweep of the directive.

It is plain that the directive will provoke antagonism between government agencies and independent researchers, if only because controversies will arise concerning whether and how to alter manuscripts. The directive invites cynicism about the administration's assertions concerning threats to the national security. The directive will also take its toll on the willingness to serve government of those in the academic community who believe that the diminution of freedom is too great a price to pay for the opportunity to carry out government duties.

The administration has a responsibility to demonstrate that on balance its restraints upon the free flow of ideas are essential to our welfare, and that mechanisms for control will not spread and invite abuse. This has not been done, with the result that the administration's actions, instead of fostering a spirit of cooperation with the academic and scientific communities, serve to undermine the common confidence that those exercising political authority are responsive to the will of the people.

Jonathan Knight
Associate Secretary
American Association of
University Professors
Washington, D.C.

### Millions or Billions?

Dear Sir:

S. Fred Singer's article, "Acid Rain: A Billion-Dollar Solution to a Million-Dollar Problem?" (Winter 1984), questions the wisdom of seeking substantial reductions in sulfur emissions to alleviate adverse effects of acid rain. In fact, the evidence overwhelmingly supports the linkage between the emission, transport in the atmosphere, and deposition of acidifying compounds, on the one hand, and adverse effects to sensitive aquatic and terrestrial ecosystems, and to man-made structures on the other. Reductions in emissions will yield both environmental and economic benefits.

Acid rain causes both ecological and economic damage on a large scale. Only the economic damage can be subjected to traditional cost-benefit analysis. The economic damage includes corrosion of painted surfaces, metal structures, and stone monuments and buildings.

A recent study conducted by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), in which the United States and Canada participated, concluded that the economic benefits from cleanup approximately equal the costs. In reality acid rain is a billion-dollar problem that requires a billion-dollar solution.

In addition to the economic damage, acid rain causes widespread damage to the natural environment. No objective dollar value can be placed on the loss of fish from hundreds of lakes or on the dieback of trees in our state and national parks. And these are probably only the most visible damages.



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Will reductions in emissions solve the acid rain problem? Targeting emissions to deposition is possible for large areas (subcontinental) integrated over long periods. During the past 50 years the deposition of acidifying compounds has increased to levels at least 10 times natural. It follows that decreases in these same emissions will cause decreases in deposition, with the immediate and substantial economic benefits of reduced corrosion. Natural ecosystems will react more slowly to decreases in deposition. It will take time to bleed out the sulfur accumulated in soils and vegetation during the past 50–100 years.

The reduction in sulfur deposition in New England during the past 10 years has apparently caused a reduction in sulfate concentrations in streams. Similarly, reductions in deposition in the region near the large smelters at Sudbury, Ontario, have resulted in decreases in sulfate concentrations and increases in pH in several lakes during the past 10 years. That reductions in emissions from the United Kingdom during the past 10 years have not resulted in a measurable improvement in lakes in Norway is not surprising. Norway receives 10–25 percent of its sulfur from UK emissions. The remainder comes mostly from the rest of northwestern Europe, where emissions have apparently increased; thus, deposition in Norway has not changed significantly during the 1970s.

Acid rain causes widespread and substantial ecological and economic damage. And the damage is clearly increasing with time. Only five years ago the loss of fish was thought to be the primary ecological impact. Now apparently whole forests are threatened. The only viable, long-term solution is emission control. Clearly the prudent course is to act before the catastrophe is upon us.

Richard F. Wright
Research Scientist
Norwegian Institute for Water Research
Oslo, Norway

**In Review**

Dear Sir:

In my review of Rael Jean and Erich Isaac's *The Coercive Utopians* (Spring 1984), I devoted a brief paragraph to the ad hominem attacks directed at Mr. John Rees—one of the Isaacs' sources—that had come from the Left. One such article in particular was by Seth Rosenfeld in the August 16, 1983, *Village Voice*, which carried disparaging remarks the author claims were taken from the FBI, IRS, and other sources. My repeating of these remarks was in no way intended as an endorsement of them. Rather, I cited them as an instance of the attacks I mentioned, whose purpose I believed was to shift attention away from the substance of Mr. Rees's reportage. Unfortunately in the course of the review the *Voice* citation was dropped.

William McGurn

**On Implementing an Agenda**

Dear Sir:

Re: "What Conservatives Think of Ronald Reagan" (Winter 1984).

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt became President in 1933, the U.S. Senate contained 59 Democrats and only 37 Republicans. The House of Representatives was even more overwhelmingly Democratic: 312 to 123. So subservient was Congress to FDR during the first hectic days of the "Roosevelt Revolution" that some New Deal legislation was enacted virtually without debate.

It is well to remember facts like these when pondering why a "Reagan Revolution" did not occur in 1981. Unlike Roosevelt, President Reagan did not enjoy—and has never enjoyed—unquestioned mastery of Congress. Although the Republicans in 1981 did control the Senate, their margin was far narrower than Roosevelt's (only 53 to 47), and many Republican senators were scarcely committed Reaganites. In the House the figures were even less auspicious: 192 Republicans, 243 Democrats. And anyone who thinks that conservatives possessed a solid ideological majority at that moment should consider this: It took Congress nearly seven months to enact President Reagan's tax cut program in 1981—seven months during which unremitting exertion by the Reagan forces was necessary to weld a (narrowly) winning coalition on this issue alone.

Clearly, the possibilities for a swift transformation of American public life in 1981 were limited. Unlike Roosevelt, President Reagan confronted a political opposition that—however dispirited at first—had not been thoroughly routed from the corridors of power. Nor had his opponents lost their influence in such crucial sectors as the media, the universities, and the judiciary. For all the euphoria generated by the 1980 election returns, principled conservatives entered Washington in 1981 a minority among the policy-making, policy-shaping elite. As a result, the Reagan administration has been obliged to struggle incessantly to implement even a portion of the conservative agenda.

This is not to say that the struggle has always been waged effectively or that maximum possible success has been attained. It is acutely obvious to conservatives that mistakes have been made and opportunities lost. If the *Policy Review* symposiasts are correct, the experiences of 1981–1983 have demonstrated anew two fundamental axioms:

- If you desire fundamentally to reshape the future, do not overpopulate your ranks with managers of the status quo.
- If ever there is a time for political daring, it is the first six months of a presidential administration. This is the period when popular forbearance is greatest and constraints on presidential initiatives are weakest. Therefore, do not dissipate our initial political capital on narrowly limited objectives. Aim high. Even if you are eventually forced to compromise (as President Reagan was), you will have undermined the sanctity of the status quo and enlarged the sphere of debatable issues. In short, as Clement At-



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tlee once put it, strike while your mandate is hot. There will be time enough for a policy of incrementalism later on.

One final thought. The frustrations of the Reagan presidency are in part a reflection of the continuing power of its adversaries in the mass media. To be sure, the media cannot control our perceptions (popular reaction to the Grenada episode is a case in point). But they can *create* perceptions (for example, the "fairness" issue) and can cause incalculable confusion. Until the conservative movement enhances its influence among the principal channels of communication in this society, the conservative ascendancy will remain at best what it is today: tentative, fragile, and incomplete.

George H. Nash
West Branch, Iowa

**Liberal Bashing**

Dear Sir:

To her credit, Midge Decter in "For the Family" (Winter 1984) says flatly that she does "not pretend to have any simple answer as to how we can get ourselves out of the present moral morass." So it is perhaps unfair to ask too much of her short and provocative article.

Still, there is something disturbing about so much of the recent conservative writing on the family. What Ms. Decter and so many other writers are up to is nothing more than liberal bashing. That can be an invigorating sport, especially for conservatives, but I'm not sure how much it helps us in getting out of the morass.

Ms. Decter seems to think that "a whole generation of this country's middle-class children" decided to flee from responsibility, gorging themselves on drugs, sex, and rock 'n' roll. True, she acknowledges that not everyone was that bad. "In milder cases," she says, "they just kind of hung around." She blames this horrid state of affairs on gutless parents, teachers, ministers, and others who lacked the moral courage to tell the kids what was right and what was wrong.

Putting aside Ms. Decter's tendency toward hyperbole (a whole generation?), I suspect she knows quite well that our current unease has far more complicated roots—and some of the difficulties have causes that conservatives often don't like to talk about.

Perhaps the most important, as writers such as Daniel Bell and Samuel Brittan have told us, is that the capitalist spirit of individualism and freedom promotes all sorts of experiments—in the marketplace, in the university, *and* in the bedroom. One person's freedom is another person's hedonism or selfishness. The pill, the hot tub, and the waterbed are as much the result of the spirit of enterprise as the microchip, the heart transplant, or the washing machine. And it is, as the Marxists like to say, no accident that feminism has become such a powerful movement in the United States, more so here than elsewhere. Women have been as much affected by the spirit of individualism as men. Happily, it is harder and harder to persuade women to accept the foolish idea that they should not try to be writers, political activists, shop clerks, or computer programmers—and good mothers at the same time. I doubt Ms. Decter would quarrel with that.

Some of the changes were fostered by the operation of the economy itself. Millions of God-fearing, traditionalist women decided to enter the work force simply to improve their families' standards of living—or, in many cases, to keep them from falling. Once in the work force, a lot of women decided they liked it there. Many of the most painful adjustments families have had to make are the fruit of this simple fact of economic life.

Finally, conservatives have to face the fact that although we Americans claim to admire those with the mettle to bring children into the world and care about them, we give these people remarkably little incentive to do so. Many conservatives would be uncomfortable with the idea of requiring employers to give extra time off to parents or to allow mothers (or fathers) to suffer fewer economic penalties if they worked less than full-time when their children were very young. Conservative economists often point out that one of the reasons women as a group earn so much less than men is that women often take time off after their children are born. A society that genuinely cared about raising its young should worry a great deal about that. Are we not telling mothers that if they care too much about their children, their careers and incomes will suffer?

*What Ms. Decter is up to is liberal bashing. That can be an invigorating sport, but I'm not sure how much it helps in getting out of the morass.*
*E.J. Dionne, Jr.*

Like Ms. Decter, I do not pretend to have any simple answers. And I agree with her that some liberals have played fast and loose with the word family, thus helping to undermine the genuine article. But for all their talk about the family, many conservatives—not all—refuse to recognize that some of its difficulties come from ideas and institutions that the Right tends to support. True friends of the family, whether leftist, centrist, or rightist, have a tough job ahead of them, especially if they want to help families without trampling on the individual liberties we should all value.

E. J. Dionne, Jr.
Fall River, Massachusetts



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# Sex and God in American Politics

## *What Conservatives Really Think*

What you are about to read will surprise you. It will make you wiser. And in some places it will make you mad. *Policy Review* asked 13 leading conservatives to comment on some of the most emotional subjects in American politics and society today. Abortion. Homosexuality. School prayer. Motherhood. Divorce. Child abuse. We asked for practical advice about how to deal with defiant teenagers and pregnant, unmarried women. And we asked about the proper role of government in regulating moral conduct.

The participants reflect the diversity of conservative thought—from neoconservative to New Right, from traditionalist to libertarian. And their answers reveal astonishing differences even within these categories, on issues such as abortion, homosexuality, and whether mothers of young children should work. The only question on which all participants seem to agree is on how to interpret the establishment clause of the First Amendment: Just what it says.

But the answers also suggest that conservatives are less at odds with each other than is often thought. There is a strain of libertarianism even among the populists of the New Right and Moral Majority, who by and large oppose state policing of private lives. When they do favor legislation of moral conduct, it is usually at the community rather than the national level—a solution consistent with American federalism, and which would allow a diversity of local options, including permissiveness for those communities that want it.

The participants were interviewed separately in their offices—except for Representive Jack Kemp, who submitted written answers. For ease of reading, the responses have been arranged by subject.

### Why are so many marriages ending in divorce these days?

**Irving Kristol**—There are two major reasons why the divorce rate has gone up in all Western countries. Divorce has been made easier legally. And as societies become more affluent, people can afford divorces: the family is somewhat less significant as an economic unit. I suppose a third reason is the weakening of the Catholic prohibition against divorce. It used to be very difficult for Catholics to get divorces and Catholics used to care whether the Church gave its approval or not; now it is much easier and many Catholics are relatively indifferent. If those three reasons had been operative in the 15th century, the divorce rate would have been very high. It is also true that the culture tends to take a view of divorce that is probably more benign than it should be. It is hard to know how strong and independent a role this factor plays, but it does play a role.

**Midge Decter**—What we have here is a circular phenomenon. So many people are getting divorced because so many people are getting divorced. Divorce doesn't mean anything any more, everybody does it. *Why* they are getting divorced is just one piece of a very large problem. It has to do with people's expectations from life and from themselves and from one another. The governing ideology of the last 40 years is focused on what you owe yourself. And what you primarily owe yourself is to feel good all the time. If you are not feeling good, there is something wrong with you, you are unhealthy. We have a Freudian-inspired idea that it is sick to have troubles. And of all things in the world, marriage is the one that can least withstand the idea that trouble and difficulty are impermissible, unhealthy, immoral. Combine that with the ease of divorce, and the lack of disapproval for it, and the minute you don't feel good your marriage is the first thing that goes. No one imagines anymore that he might be responsible for his own condition.

**Ronald Godwin**—In point of fact, fewer marriages are ending in divorce in 1983 and 1984 than any time during the past 20 years. You phrased the question as if the glass were half empty. I would say that for the first time in many years the glass is a little more than half full. In other words, a long term trend toward divorce has been reversed. I see this is as indication of a general, if glacial, shift toward traditional values, a return to a more conservative mind-set and an indication that the country may be on the verge of a moral rebirth.



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**R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.,**—Not enough people in our society are resigned to the fact that life is a sticky wicket. One makes the best of things—spicing one's resignation with a little joy and perseverance. Actually many of the marriages ending in divorce should be ending in suicides. It's a wiser path than remarriage. Most men just turn around and marry a duplicate of the impossible creature that they have just divorced. And then, given the opportunity, they will marry a half a dozen more versions of the same woman. Hemingway did.

**Howard Phillips**—One of the reasons there is so much family instability is that people have not been educated to their responsibilities in following God's law. We are not here by chance. We are placed here by God, and God has a purpose for our lives. Part of God's plan is that we accept responsibility for governance, and for advancing godly principles. In the family, that means we have to provide leadership for our children, by example and by instruction. We have to recognize that commitments need to be kept, that adultery is treason against the family, that the family is the basic health and welfare agency, the basic agency for education, for caring for the elderly, for promoting adherence to moral standards. Today there are so many pressures for sex outside marriage. A lot of kids grow up never being told that the act of creation, implicit in the act of sex, involves great moral responsibility.

**Milton Friedman**—I am not an expert on this subject, and I have no confidence whatsoever in expressing an opinion about it. Unquestionably, the greater availability of jobs for women enables them to become independent more easily and has been an important factor making it possible for women—and men—to end unsatisfactory contractual arrangements with their mates. The permissive philosophy, changing standards of sexual conduct, improvements in birth control devices—these have obviously played a part. But what has been the major factor? What would be involved in reversing the trend, I have no idea. And I am not even sure that this development is a bad thing. As someone who himself has been married only once for close to 46 years, I obviously believe that it is possible to have a very satisfactory, long-lasting marriage. But I also realize that not everyone is as lucky as I was. And it is better that a bad marriage break up than that it spoil the lives of both the parents and the children. So I am not prepared to judge whether on balance the greater frequency and ease of divorce has been a good thing or a bad thing.

**Paul M. Weyrich**—A number of factors enter into this problem. The first is the declining influence of religion; people who have ceased to look at an eternal picture make decisions based on the here and now. And any marriage in this part of the 20th century with all of its pressures and all of its intensity is bound to run into trouble if one is only looking at the here and now. The religious revival that is currently underway in the country may have a positive effect on this problem.

I think also that Hollywood and television have tended to glorify instant gratification, and that this has raised unreasonable expectations for marriage. I have been

## *PARTICIPANTS*

**Midge Decter.** *Executive director of the Committee for the Free World. Author of* The New Chastity *and* Liberal Parents, Radical Children. *Trustee of The Heritage Foundation.*

**M. Stanton Evans.** *Director of the National Journalism Center. Former chairman of American Conservative Union. Columnist for Heritage Features Syndicate.*

**Reverend Jerry Falwell.** *President of Moral Majority. Pastor for the Old Time Gospel Hour at Thomas Road Baptist Church, Lynchburg, Virginia.*

**Milton Friedman.** *Nobel Prize-winning economist. Currently a senior research fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University. Author of* Capitalism and Freedom *and of* Tyranny of the Status Quo *(with Rose Friedman).*

**Ronald Godwin.** *Executive vice-president of Moral Majority. Columnist and lecturer.*

**Senator Orrin Hatch.** *Republican from Utah. Chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.*

**Representative Jack Kemp.** *Republican from Buffalo, New York. Chairman of the House Republican Conference. Former quarterback for the Buffalo Bills and president of the American Football League Players Association.*

**Irving Kristol.** *Coeditor of* The Public Interest. *Member of the Board of Contributors to* The Wall Street Journal. *John M. Olin Professor of Social Thought at the New York University Business School.*

**Howard Phillips.** *National director of the Conservative Caucus.*

**Phyllis Schlafly.** *President of Eagle Forum. Author of* A Choice, Not an Echo, *and* The Power of the Positive Woman.

**Rabbi Seymour Siegel.** *Executive director of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council.*

**R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.** *Editor-in-Chief of* The American Spectator. *Author of* Public Nuisances *and* The Liberal Crack-up. *Syndicated columnist.*

**Paul M. Weyrich.** *Executive director of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress.*



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married now for 21 years and I would do it all over again if I had the opportunity to do so. But one is living in an unreal world if one expects that there aren't heartbreaks and ups and downs and pressures and tragedies even in a very good marriage.

**Phyllis Schlafly**—The rise in divorce is one of the major changes that have happened in this country. It started with the no-fault divorce law passed in California around 1969. Since then, easy divorce laws have swept across the country and been passed by every state. These laws were strongly pushed by the women's liberation movement,

*The feminists wanted men to be able to leave their wives without feeling guilty and without paying any damages. Well, I guess they succeeded.*
*Phyllis Schlafly*

and they have been disastrous for women. These laws enable one party to terminate a marriage. It takes two people to get married but only one to end it. A major cause of divorce today is the psychology of women's liberation. For a complete dramatization of how this happens, see the movie "Kramer vs. Kramer." Dozens upon dozens of marriages have ended just like that. There were always circumstances for getting a divorce. The changes in the law have made it easy to get a divorce for no reason at all. It is like that other society where a man could simply say, "I divorce thee, I divorce thee, I divorce thee," and that terminated the marriage. The feminists wanted men to be able to leave their wives without feeling guilty, and without paying any damages. Well, I guess they succeeded. Now, many young people have the attitude, "We will get married and, if it doesn't work out, we will get a divorce." There's no longer a lifetime commitment.

## Should the state make it harder to get a divorce?

**Decter**—I don't think the state should play any role in this beyond the small ways in which it can express community attitudes—say, through the tax code. Married people shouldn't have to pay penalty taxes. But this is a really deep spiritual problem and it is a problem for the community rather than the state to deal with.

**Kristol**—No. This is a lost battle and it is not either prudent or sensible to try to fight it. My guess is that we have gone through a transition period and that some settling down will occur. I would not be surprised to see the divorce rate stabilize or maybe go down. For the foreseeable future, we will have a relatively high divorce rate compared to the past. With a high divorce rate, you get a high remarriage rate. Most divorced people do remarry.

**Phillips**—I would like to see discussions of this kind left at the state and local level. I would like to permit communities which wish to limit grounds for divorce to adultery, to do so. But I am not sure there ought to be any role for civil government in marriage. For most of our history, civil marriage was an exception; it was mostly a religious institution. Whenever government involves itself, it asserts a claim of sovereignty. There is a danger that judges may use the civil government's involvement in granting marriage licenses to assert that government has a greater regulatory role with respect to the family.

**Representative Jack Kemp**—As a free and democratic nation we have a vital stake in strong families, because we count on them to raise up citizens who know right from wrong and who value the worth and dignity of others. But strong families cannot be decreed by law, and divorce should not be prohibited. Government cannot heal broken relationships. However, it can (as a matter of *state* law) encourage reflection by requiring a waiting period or even a period of legal separation.

**Friedman**—No. My philosophy is that marriage is a voluntary contract between two people. So long as there are no children, only the two people are really involved. And so long as that is the case, in my philosophy they should decide on their own terms whether to dissolve that voluntary contract. At that stage, no obstacles should be imposed. Once there are children, of course, the situation becomes more complicated because the parents have an obligation to the children and the interests of the children have to be taken into account. That seems to me the only valid excuse for the state playing any role.

**Weyrich**—I favor a longer waiting period. With the no-fault divorce and quick action now possible, a lot of people rush into action they later regret. At least a dozen friends have told me that they bitterly regret what they have done, and its effect on their children, even though some of these people have successfully remarried. We also ought to look at teenage marriages, where you have the highest divorce rate. The family is the basic unit of society, and its stability is necessary if we are to have a decent and just society. Perhaps we need longer waiting periods for young marriage as well as divorce.

## Should unmarried couples be allowed to live together?

**M. Stanton Evans**—This is not a matter for the law. I don't believe they should, but you shouldn't police that through the state. I believe in a state that protects people from each other rather than from themselves. I don't like intrusive government that tries to police the morals of its citizens.

**Schlafly**—I can't stop them. We don't have a society



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where some people can go around and order others not to live together. But I certainly don't think that live-in lovers acquire the rights of husbands and wives.

**Godwin**—Not in my opinion. As the vice president of the Moral Majority, I would say that unmarried couples should be required to obey the laws in their state. Further, speaking as an individual, as a conservative Protestant Christian, I say that unmarried couples should not be allowed to live together. Adultery is counter to the teachings of the Bible, and it has been repeatedly shown to be counterproductive to happy and stable relationships in Western cultures.

**Weyrich**—I don't think it is the business of the government to tell people what they can and cannot do. On the other hand, unmarried couples who live together, and in some cases have children, and in many cases make it clear that they have no intention of marrying, are flaunting God's law and, in some states, civil law. We are kidding ourselves if we think that this does not have an effect on society. Our libertarian friends don't understand that private actions have public consequences. We need to restigmatize this kind of behavior. I don't know whether laws prohibiting it will in fact do much good, but we cannot tolerate the attitude that living together without benefit of matrimony is just as good as being married; it is not. There was a time that when people lived together, they went to a great deal of trouble to hide it from the rest of society. People will nowadays say they were hypocritical, but in fact they were simply acknowledging that their behavior was unacceptable, sinful, and wrong, and that therefore if they were going to do it, it should not be done in such a way that it would cause a scandal or hurt other people.

**Kemp**—As for "allowing" unmarried couples to live together, I don't see how the states could prevent them without a massive invasion of privacy. But this doesn't mean that states should be required to treat married and unmarried couples alike (for example, by awarding "palimony").

**Kristol**—There is nothing the state can do about it, there is nothing the parents can do about it, so it is idle even to raise the issue. I certainly don't think they should be *encouraged* to live together without benefit of matrimony. But, here again, we are involved with a cultural change that may turn out to be less significant than many people think, one which is to some degree simply a function of affluence. When I was young, it was very difficult for young people to live together since they couldn't afford to.

**Phillips**—One of our moral responsibilities is to separate ourselves from temptation and to avoid condoning practices which are morally wrong and destructive of family stability and development. I regard adultery, homosexuality, and abortion as evils, and I believe that I and my family ought to be able to disassociate ourselves from moral examples of which we disapprove. If I own an apartment building, I ought to be able to deny rental space to people of whom I disapprove, whatever the reason.

**Friedman**—Of course! That is their business. Once again, the only problem it raises is the problem of children. Whether it is wise for couples to live together is a different question. But that is something that each couple has to decide for themselves, on the basis of advice or comfort they can get from other people. It is not something for the state to get involved in. I am not a conservative, I am a liberal. Not in the modern corrupted sense of "liberal," but in the 19th century sense of liberal.

**Decter**—The only thing that will stop them from living together is a common standard of the community. Not the state. The state can only reflect, it seems to me. It is not even doing a very good job of reflecting, anymore. For example, the country has not degenerated quite so far that we have lost a consensus on child pornography: The people who are in favor of child pornography should simply all be locked up in the loony bins. Nevertheless, the state cannot even regulate that. Or refuses to. So I don't think the state is the proper organ of the reassertion of traditional values, nor do I think it would be an efficient or effective one.

**Reverend Jerry Falwell**—I don't think so. This is immoral. There is no way you can legally prevent this. But pastors and teachers should join with parents in instructing young people that this is wrong. It is hurtful not only to the couples, it is also damaging to the children who are born to such a union, and to the children who are aborted as a result of it.

**Tyrrell**—Sure, I don't have any quarrel with that. But, as soon as they bring an innocent little individual into it, then all sensible individualists ought to demand that the state "monitor the situation," as the phrase has it.

## Should mothers of young children stay at home rather than work?

**Tyrrell**—I don't like the way that question is phrased. It assumes that mothers stay at home. Mothers go to parks, doctors' offices, schools, grocery stores. It is an enormous job. Would you ask: Should businessmen stay in the office? Sometimes they should, and sometimes they shouldn't. Mothers' first commitment, I think, should be to their children and to their husbands. If that sounds Biblical, well it is an old book full of foolishness, but there are some good things in it.

**Schlafly**—Here we have a problem with semantics. I brought up six children, and the idea that I could be considered a "non-working wife" is really obnoxious. Mothers work very hard. I am convinced that babies have not heard the call of women's lib, that they are just as demanding as they ever were. They need someone who will put the welfare of that baby above her own career fulfillment. The baby needs enormous care for a long



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Collage by Lauren Uram for *Policy Review*

time. Hired, temporary caretakers are no substitute for a mother. Unfortunately, the educated young woman today has been taught to believe that her time is too valuable to waste on a baby, and that, of all the careers she could pick, taking care of a baby is the bottom of the barrel. She has been trained to think that it is just too much to expect for her to give a few years of her life for the care of her baby. This is not a liberal vs. a conservative issue. Plenty of economic liberals are social conservatives. The studies of teenage suicides show that they are predominantly children of affluent parents. Poor children whose mothers find it economically necessary to be in the labor force are not committing suicide. The suicides are all among well-to-do children who are emotionally deprived because they are not getting sufficient emotional support from their family. What they missed most of all was the mother-baby bonding that takes place in the first few years. Babies don't like different caretakers. They like the same person everyday. That makes them feel secure. As George Gilder has said, women live seven or eight years longer than men anyway, so why can't they give a few years of their life to the great career of bringing up the next generation? It is honorable, it is important, it is necessary. The thing we resent the most about the feminist ideology is its tremendous put-down of the role of motherhood.

**Phillips**—It depends on circumstances. It is desirable for mothers to spend as much time as possible with their children, but there may be an economic necessity for mothers and fathers to take on jobs that require sacrifice. It is desirable for children to have a secure home environment. That security is enhanced to the degree the mother's presence is frequent and predictable.

**Falwell**—Obviously, any pastor interested in the welfare of families would first express his ideal. Most mothers would prefer to raise their own children rather than give that wonderful privilege and experience to another person. Unfortunately, we live in a society that does not always allow that luxury. My pastoral advice is if the wife must work, the husband should make the extra effort to compensate in any way possible for her absence. He likewise should help to provide what we often call quality time, when quantity is not possibile. I think families can raise children successfully if the husband and wife find it necessary to work. It is my belief the husband is as much responsible for rearing children as the wife.

**Rabbi Seymour Siegel**—All other things equal, the answer is yes. Mothers should stay at home for two obvious reasons. One is that the nurture and support a mother gives her child cannot be duplicated by babysitters, nursery schools, grandparents, or any other surrogates. The second, and this is an old-fashioned idea, is that something in the female flourishes when she has the chance to express her natural nurturing ability and desire. Of course, the financial situation should not be overlooked. The desirability of not working has to be balanced with the economic need.

**Decter**—Mothers with young children should stay at home until the children are three. In some circumstances they can't. That is obvious. But, when they can't, it might be considered an unfortunate necessity rather than something desirable. Everybody knows that little tiny kids need their mothers. And that no one can substitute. *Everybody* knows that. But there are all kinds of rationalizations floating around. It's not the amount of time a woman spends with her children, some people say, it is the quality of the time. Or it is not necessarily a mother but a single care-taker that an infant needs. Now



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you hear young women who dump their kids in daycare centers talking about how the children need socialization. All this is rationalization. You only have to look at a little kid to know what he needs.

Beyond the age of three, it is probably all right for the mother to work. The question really isn't whether she works, the question is where her heart and primary attention and her major concern lie. That is why the careers of women do not follow the same trajectories as the careers of men. It is not because women are discriminated against, it is because their commitments are—and must be—divided.

There's another aspect of this question that nobody talks about. These young women who put their careers above their children are, en masse, depriving themselves of something vitally important to them. Indeed, something necessary. They don't know it yet, they won't find out until their 50s. And then there will be a great howl. We can look forward to an epidemic of middle-age depression among women that will put the current situation to shame, because now, in their youth, they are truncating an essential experience. And they are doing it like a bunch of sheep. They speak of autonomy and independence, but they are throwing away the sweetmeats of motherhood because they are being told to by the culture under the influence of the women's movement.

**Evans**—In general it would be desirable for mothers to spend more time nurturing and supervising their children. But it's hard to tell a young couple to cut their income in half. From 1973 to 1983, the average family lost about $1,300 in purchasing power, thanks to taxes and inflation. When people think they are on a treadmill just to make ends meet—which they are—then frequently wives have to work.

**Godwin**—That is a decision that needs to be made by the individual family jointly by husband and wife. Moral Majority employs a large number of working mothers. And the "Old Time Gospel Hour" employs probably 1,000 working mothers. So we obviously do not believe that a mother necessarily needs to stay at home. Neither should a mother who decides to stay at home with young children be made to feel any sort of social onus. A working mother may or may not end up being the kind of mother she should be to her child. That depends a lot on the individual and individual family circumstances.

**Weyrich**—There is no simple answer to this question. In many cases, it would be better for the children were their mother able to pay more attention to them. But where there's a single parent, or where the father simply cannot earn sufficient funds to support the family in a reasonable style, then a mother often has to work for the benefit of her family. Children can be very supportive in these cases; as a matter of fact, hardships help to pull families together, to be more of a team. The real damage to children comes when they see that their mother is away from them, not for economic necessity, but because the parents are simply attempting to buy the third car, or a boat, or a cottage in the mountains.

If a mother has to work, she should try to see to it that her children are cared for by another family, or by other family members. What is detrimental is when so many kids are left in day care operations with strangers, or when kids come home to no one in the house. This provides kids with the opportunity to get into all kinds of trouble they wouldn't otherwise get into. Plus they don't have anyone to seek advice from, no one whose shoulder they can cry on. A grandmother, or aunt, or someone like that is family, someone kids can become very attached to. But a child learns to hide the things he's worried about from some daycare attendant.

In some cases, too, work gives mothers an opportunity for certain creativity they cannot get simply by caring for their children. Working can be a positive evil if the mother feels that she has to find herself in her job, if she subjugates her family to her career. But if the family is put first, part-time work is probably a positive thing for many mothers. It not only brings in some income but gives them something else to focus on. I do not accept the view of some of my conservative brethren who say it is absolutely wrong for mothers to work under any circumstances. What is important is that the work not become an end in itself, something that consumes so much emotional energy the mother is unable to give what is required to her children.

**Friedman**—I was pleased that my wife and I jointly decided that her place was at home when our children were small. But, again, that is a decision that each couple has to make for themselves. On the whole, I think that the interest of the child is likely to be better served if the mother of the young children does stay at home, but that has to be balanced against other considerations and I am not competent to make any sweeping statements.

**Kristol**—I don't think you can generalize about that. In the abstract, I would prefer to see mothers of young children stay at home. But, in actuality, I see plenty of young mothers who work and who are very good mothers and the children seem not to suffer at all from their mother being away a good part of the day. Married women will be working far more than they did in the past. Married women want to work and who in God's name is going to stop them? The notion that married women shouldn't work is a middle-class notion that really emerged in the course of the 19th century and simply was a declaration of status. That your wife did not work put you in the middle-class. Working class women have worked for a good part of human history. But that attitude is changing, no one now loses status for having his wife work. I think this is another one of those social changes that is here to stay.

### Does the state have an interest in preventing child abuse or wife-beating? Under what circumstances should the state intervene in the treatment of handicapped infants?

**Kristol**—Child abuse is a crime. The state has always had the right to intervene in cases of child abuse. However,



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the definition of child abuse is not so easy to make. It is obvious to me that the state should be reluctant to move on such a question and should only do so where child abuse is obvious. The big problem, of course, is what happens when you do find a clear-cut case of child abuse. In some cases, you just have to take the kids away from those parents and either find them foster parents or put them in decent residential schools. This last solution, which I would prefer, is very expensive.

I think the state should keep out of the Baby Doe kind of case. This is something to be settled between a panel of doctors and the family. The state has nothing to add except confusion and expense.

**Kemp**—There are extraordinary circumstances where government must intervene in family decisions in order to protect an individual's rights. Abortion is one example, as are child abuse, wife-beating, and discrimination against children on the basis of a handicap.

Such intervention should never be undertaken lightly. There is a difference, for example, between the government's stepping in to end genuine child abuse and determining that "spanking" is an unacceptable form of discipline. Some of the most difficult decisions about appropriate government action involve the treatment of handicapped infants. Babies must not be starved to death just because they have a mental handicap, as happened to Bloomington, Indiana's "Baby Doe." I believe there is a state and even a federal responsibility for education of handicapped children.

**Tyrrell**—You know, child abuse is one of those nonce enthusiasms. You probably won't hear anything about it six months from now. It is particularly popular now, because radicals use it as yet another way to assault bourgeois society and the bourgeois family. They aren't really serious about it. If they were serious about child abuse, they would, among other things, accept the notion of what a standard family is. These are the very same people who have no objection to the most salacious porn appearing in grocery stores and almost anywhere else. They are people who favor the most rampant individualism when it comes to sex, aren't they? Yet somehow they find themselves concerned about child abuse which they, of course, portray as a middle-class phenomenon. As a matter of fact, an awful lot of child abuse occurs among the lower class, and is lower-class behavior; yet, these radicals treat the lower class as though it were composed of gods and goddesses living in eternal innocence. Child abuse is to a large degree a problem with sexually liberated households. You are not going to find a great deal of child abuse in the home of an orthodox Jew, or an orthodox Catholic, or an orthodox Protestant. The state ought to treat child abuse and wife beating as it always has. It is an act of idiot presumption to treat this problem as one that has been ignored.

As to handicapped infants, the state's role is to protect those who cannot protect themselves. In some of these cases, mistakes are going to be made. But I can tell you in the case of Baby Doe in Bloomington, Indiana, the child was simply allowed to die. Some said that the child would have died anyway or that the child would have had a ghastly life and then died. But the doctors whom I know and respect as medical men and gentlemen all said that if the baby had undergone a few rather commonplace operations, it would have lived a fairly normal life. Isn't it ironic that we have in America people who treat abortion as though it were actually a good deed, people who show utter insouciance toward the rights of a fetus and the rights of a badly crippled baby. Nonetheless, they insist that society spend endless amounts of money—through the restructuring of American sidewalks, buildings, transportation, and customs—to allow some mature handicapped individual to live with the illusion that he is not handicapped. This is another sign, of course, of the incoherence of our public views: Kill the handicapped when young; when mature, spend profligately to allow them to pursue not only aspirations but also outright delusions. You are apt to go to a gymnasium today and find someone in a wheelchair hauling a waist-high metal object—his wheelchair—around the same track on which people are running. All kinds of arguments will be made how that is right and proper and not the least bit dangerous for anyone, when as a matter of fact it is wrong and improper and dangerous to all involved. And yet in a hospital bed a few miles away, some grim fellow may be allowing some baby to starve to death because his or her life will be an inconvenience to mom and dad, an embarrassment. Or because that little baby's life might not be able to be lived according to some social scientist's conception of median American happiness.

*What happened with Baby Doe was murder. The people responsible—parents and doctors—should be held accountable.*

*M. Stanton Evans*

**Evans**—The state's function is to prevent physical harm to anyone in the family, whether a husband is beating up his wife or a parent is abusing his child. But we're moving toward the Swedish government-knows-best approach, which won't let you spank your kids, and which promotes social engineering behind the smokescreen of guarding against child abuse. Before you know it, we will have government intervening in all kinds of cases where there is no real abuse as usually understood.

In the case of Baby Doe, it was unconscionable to let that little baby die. It's one thing not to take heroic measures to keep babies alive; it's another to deny them food and water. To me what happened with Baby Doe was murder, and the people responsible—parents and doctors—should be held accountable.



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**Weyrich**—The role of the state is to protect life. Therefore, I think the state ought to intervene in family matters where there is real evidence of physical harm to family members. I say real evidence, because nowadays, there are those who consider some sort of spanking physical harm. I am not talking about reasonable noninjurious corporal punishment. But if someone is knocking people around, breaking bones, harming people, then it is the state's responsibility to intervene and protect the innocent.

As to the handicapped, I think again it is the state's responsibility to protect life. If a child is capable of being sustained and cared for, as in the Baby Doe case, then it is the state's responsibility to see to it that that happens. If the parents do not wish to care for that child, then the state's responsibility is to place it in the hands of those who do wish to care for it. There are many loving couples who are perfectly willing to adopt the handicapped children that some of these parents don't want. Why any state official or judge would allow a child to die when there is someone ready to adopt them is beyond me. But even if someone were not right there, that is a life, a human being. To suggest that a person should die because he is not actually in the full possession of every faculty is really Hitlerian in its implications. Once you set the precedent that someone who is malformed in some way or another should be cast off to die just because of his malformation, you are just a step away from determining that a person is of the wrong race, has the wrong color eyes or wrong political disposition. Eventually you will have a wholly inhuman policy as they had in Hitler's Germany or as they have in certain third world countries where if you have any kind of defect you may as well forget it because you won't live.

*Having a baby nowadays is supposed to be like buying a car, with a guarantee that you won't be getting a lemon.*

*Midge Decter*

**Falwell**—There is no question that some parents do not deserve to have children. If children are mistreated, the state has a responsibility to investigate. The state must also realize that it has parameters of responsibility as well. The ideal is to help emotionally disturbed parents back to normalcy in their parenting. To take children away from parents and place them in foster homes should be a last resort.

**Friedman**—We as a community have an obligation to protect each individual from injury or physical coercion by another individual, whether that individual is his parent or his sibling or someone unrelated. That is one of the regrettably unavoidable functions we have to assign to a governmental body. But as a matter of expedience, in the overwhelming majority of cases parents have a much deeper and stronger interest in the welfare of their children than anyone else in the community does. The parents certainly have a deeper concern than bureaucrats are going to. So the presumption in these cases ought to be in favor of the parents. The burden of proof should be on whoever would like to have the state intervene. In the long run, that kind of policy will involve less coercion of people who cannot protect themselves than any other policy. The same principle ought to apply in the case of handicapped infants. Government bureaucrats ought to intervene only as a last resort, and only with a very strong presumption that otherwise the rights of an individual are going to be violated.

**Decter**—Well certainly the state has to intervene in the case of child abuse. How it should intervene is a question beyond my powers and beyond my wisdom. Many children who are taken over by the state simply get sent through a series of foster homes where if they are not physically abused, they are abused in other ways. But obviously, if people are beating a child very severely, the child has to be taken away. In the case of handicapped infants, the issue is not state intervention, and here again state intervention will do very little good. What is involved is nothing less than a religious crisis. We now have the idea that if you discover a fetus will be impaired in some way, you just get rid of it. This grows out of the proposition that a life with any sorrow or trouble in it is a life not worth living. People say that a handicapped baby's life would not be worth living, but what they are really saying is that they cannot bear to have responsibility for an imperfect child. That is a hideous, sinful, evil idea. Moreover, it is an idea which is being argued about under false colors in the political arena, and it is going to do no good to argue about it in the political arena. This question has to be discussed in the realm of the spiritual. It has been a disaster, for instance, that the issue of abortion should have come to be argued in the political arena where it has inevitably degenerated into a dispute about when does life begin and what is a human being and so on. Inevitably, because where you channel things into politics you have to end up with legal definitions and hair-splitting.

When life begins is not the question. The question is, what kind of people are we to take such an attitude toward life? So full of hatred toward life itself that it has to be intellectually manipulated as if it were a mechanical or legal affair instead of a gift, the only gift we know we have. Having a baby is nowadays supposed to be like buying a car, with a guarantee that you won't be getting a lemon.

### What attitudes should parents take toward defiant teen-agers?

**Friedman**—Every parent has dealt with defiant children



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in his or her own way. It is a healthy sign that children show defiance. As a father, I have always tried to draw a distinction between what I want of my dog and what I want of my child. Of my dog, I just want obedience, I don't want independence. But of my son or daughter, I want independence. It is a sign of the failure of the parent if the children don't show defiance. Defiance does not mean aggression or opposition or anything like that, it means a healthy independence of thought and of mind. I think there is only one simple principle to keep in mind, and that is that children are going to be responsible individuals. And our task, as parents, in so far as we can, is to try to treat them in ways that recognize that they are separate and independent individuals who sooner or later are going to have to assume responsibility for themselves.

**Weyrich**—The only one way that you can deal with them is with tough love. Love is misdefined in our society as "I-will-give-you-everything-you-want." In fact, love involves saying, "I want what is best for you; I want to help you in the best way that is possible to help you, and of course I want you to have a long term relationship with me." As a result of the phony "I-will-give-into-your-every-whim" type of love, we have a whole generation of misfits who believe they are entitled to anything they want and ought to get it instantly. The real way to deal with that kind of distorted attitude, part of which comes from the parents and part of which comes from society, is to draw lines, to make it very clear what is acceptable and unacceptable behavior, and to carry through in a very real way a threat of drastic action if the line is crossed.

**Decter**—Well, as a mother, as a parent, you fight. No doubt you also pray a lot, scream a lot, cry a lot. The children who moved into the drug culture and managed to survive were the ones whose parents put up a fight for them. However defiant these children were, and however rebellious, they knew that a fight was being made for their souls, and this made the difference. The difference might not have been apparent at the time, but subsequently it was very great. A lot of parents who were being "understanding" during the heyday of the 60s and 70s counterculture were not being understanding at all, they were just simply washing their hands of parental responsibility and trouble.

**Godwin**—I was a school principal and headmaster for some 14 years, and there just aren't any simple answers to that question. One thing, I do know: With a defiant teenager you must maintain open lines of communication. If you out-of-hand condemn the teenager and refuse to listen, you are not going to solve the problem. And you are not going to help the teenager. In fact, you probably will become part of the problem rather than party to the solution. There are probably as many causes of teenage defiance as there are individuals involved. The key is to diagnose the cause with the individual teenager.

I remember that many teenagers who experience such problems complain that adults are not listening, don't care and really don't want to help. Therefore, adults who do listen, who do demonstrate that they care, enjoy a much higher success ratio with these young people than do those who condemn out-of-hand.

**Falwell**—I don't pretend to be an authority on this. All children are different, their personalities are different. The first thing that teenagers in rebellion need is love and understanding. A young man going through a period of rebellion needs to know that his parents are always ready to listen to him, that his home is always open.

Prayer is very important in recovering a rebellious child. Parents with the help of pastors and teachers need to offer as much instruction and encouragement as possible to young people when they are going astray. They do not need our condemnation or contempt. They need our help and encouragement.

**Evans**—I don't have any children, but based on my experience as a teacher, I'm a firm believer that children need adults who themselves have a clear sense of value and goals, and who impart them. What is missing among many kids today is any sense of certitude about anything; this leads to disorientation. If parents are unsure about where they stand, the kids who are rebellious already will become even more rebellious.

**Kristol**—I suppose that by the time you have a teenager who is in trouble and is defiant and unruly, it is almost too late for the parents to do anything. The only practical suggestion I can make is this: I have seen many parents whose young teenagers were beginning to get into trouble but who didn't take this seriously enough. Very often, a young person falls in with what we used to call a "bad crowd" and you can see trouble emerging. If parents took this more seriously, they would say, "Well, one of the things we are probably going to have to do is move and get this kid out of this situation." Now, moving may mean giving up a job. It is a very drastic answer to that question and it is understandable that it really doesn't occur to parents too often. But this is an option parents ought to consider. Usually when you are talking about an adolescent who is moving into some kind of delinquency the only thing the parent can do is to change the environment and hope that change will have an effect. The only answer is to give the kid an upbringing so that when he becomes an adolescent he doesn't get into trouble.

## Is abortion always wrong? Is abortion permissible in cases of rape or incest? If the life of the mother is endangered?

**Godwin**—The Moral Majority has not taken the position that all abortions are wrong. Good friends of ours in the prolife movement have taken what you might call the more traditional, Catholic position. But even the Catholic Church has traditionally allowed some consideration of life-threatening conditions. The Moral Majority has taken the position that the overwhelming percentage of abortions carried out in this country this year, last year, year before last, etc., were wrong and unnecessary. But we could live with legislation that allowed for certain



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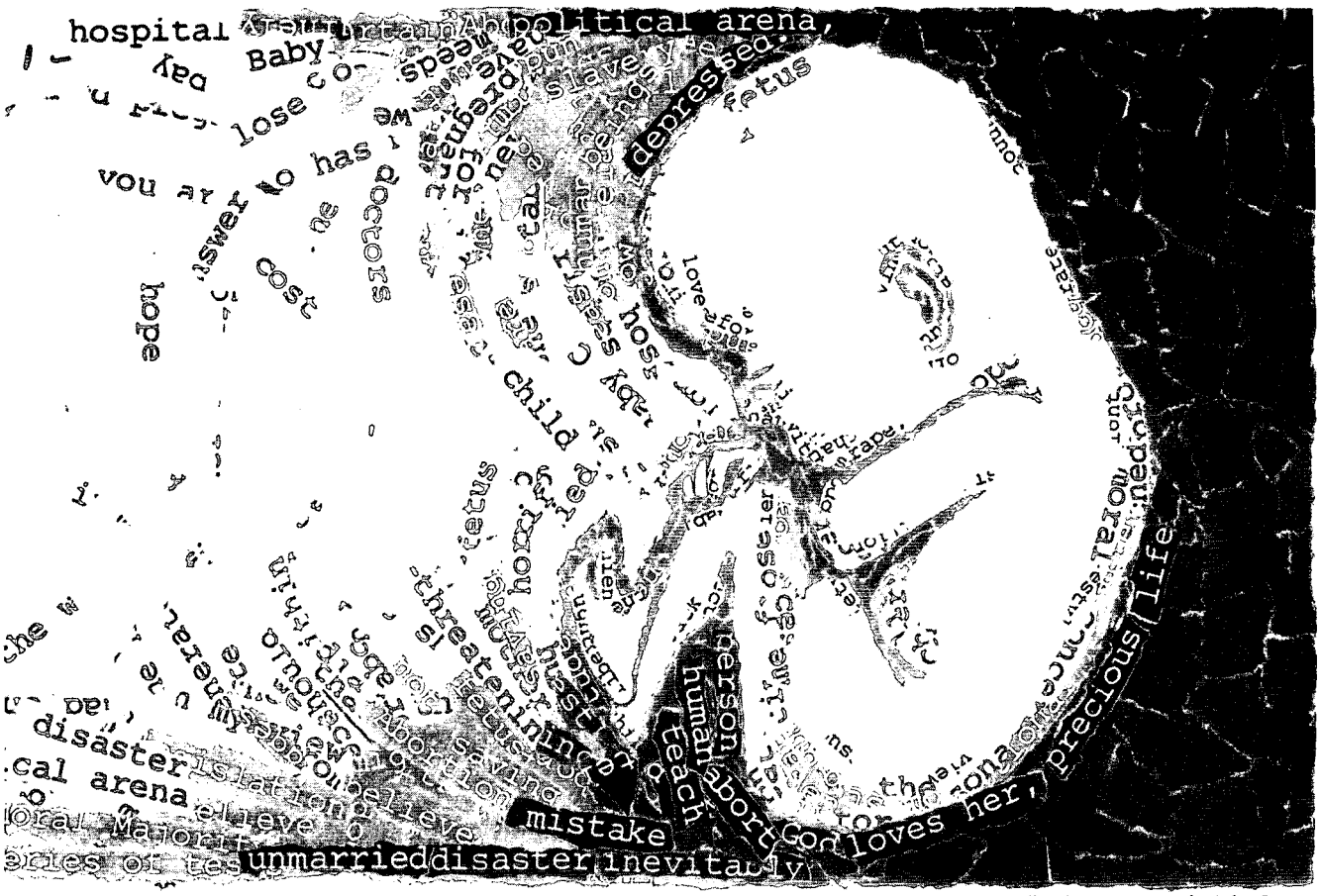


Collage by Lauren Uram for *Policy Review*

exceptions determined by a panel of doctors. We believe that a genuinely life-threatening medical situation, life-threatening to the mother, could be one of those situations where abortion might be necessary. And we tend to be willing to entertain legislation perhaps even less sweeping than that in order to gain some incremental victory. My view of the prolife battle is that we have passed that period of optimum opportunity to see significant legislation passed. We are now in an era when we had better achieve what incremental victories we can achieve rather than idealistically holding out for the whole loaf.

**Senator Orrin Hatch**—I think abortion should be permitted to save the life of the mother, but that it is difficult to make a good ethical and religious and moral case for abortion beyond this exception. It is almost impossible to make a good ethical case for abortion that does not involve the life of the mother. What we have now is indiscriminate abortion on demand. Of the approximately 2 million abortions per year, only 60,000, or 3 percent, were related to the "hard" cases such as rape, incest, serious deformity, or saving the life of the mother. This means that 1.94 million are performed for reasons of social convenience or life-style. Society cannot put up with this wholesale slaughter of the innocent unborn.

**Tyrrell**—I think abortion is wrong when we kill a fetus who offers no real threat to the life of the mother. I don't have any doubt about that. Unless you think a fetus isn't human. And if you think a fetus isn't human, I would like to know when you think a fetus *is* human. I suggest that a fetus not be judged a human until he is 21, and has passed a series of tests measuring his intelligence, self-reliance, and appreciation for Mozart, in fact his ability to be just like me. Doubtless in the quiet of their libraries many liberals would agree with this.

**Kemp**—Abortion is always wrong, and I strongly oppose abortion on demand, because each life is precious and worthy of protection. Abortion not only violates an unborn child's inalienable right to life; it also undermines our very liberty. In my view the comparison with slavery is very apt, because in both cases the issue turns on the rights of human beings who were alleged to be nonpersons. "Familiarize yourselves with the chains of bondage," warned Abraham Lincoln, "and you prepare your own limbs to wear them." If we allow society to grow accustomed to the thought that unborn children aren't really human beings, it becomes easier to think of handicapped infants as somehow less than human, or of the sick and elderly as "leaves that fall from a tree" as they fulfill some "duty to die," as one state governor recently asserted.

I believe it is a mistake to focus the abortion debate on cases such as rape or incest, which represent a fraction of 1 percent of all cases. Birth is always preferable to abortion. When the life of the mother is in danger (another



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rare occurrence), saving both lives may not be possible—as in other life-threatening situations. Since *Roe vs. Wade,* abortions are available for any reason, however frivolous—for example, if amniocentesis determines that the child is not of the desired sex, or as a method of birth control.

**Siegel**—According to Jewish tradition, abortion on demand is not right. But abortions for cause are sometimes right. The obvious reason for an abortion would be to rescue the life of the mother, and Jewish interpretations recently extended that to include very onerous and difficult burdens of suffering resulting from serious defects in the fetus. The Supreme Court decision which gives a carte blanche to all abortions should be modified. It should be more difficult to have an abortion, and the burden of proof should be on the parents to show that having the child would be a severe physical or mental burden.

**Kristol**—I have very mixed feelings about abortion. I don't like it. Though, in certain cases I think it is permissible, such as in pregnancy arising from rape, or when the mother's life is in danger. On the other hand, it is hard to see what role the state can play. I think the Supreme Court made a great mistake in making abortion a national issue. They should have left it a controversial issue to be solved at the state and local level. There is no solution acceptable to a clear majority of the American people, so the best strategy is to try to defuse it by making it a local rather than a national issue. In which case you will end up with some states with liberal abortion laws, some states with conservative abortion laws, and since this is a free country, people will move from one state to another, depending upon their beliefs about abortion among other things. I think the same thing could be said about pornography. This is another issue that the courts have mishandled by involving the Supreme Court. It should be left to local communities and courts. They will solve the matter in very different ways but this is the beauty of a federal system. With a population heterogeneous not only in race and ethnicity and religion, but also in values, it is a mistake to try to impose a national policy on such matters.

**Schlafly**—Abortion is always wrong. In the case of incest or rape? Well, 98 percent of abortions that take place in this country are done for reasons of comfort or convenience or career. I don't know that it profits us much to talk about the 2 percent until we address the 98 percent. If a woman has been raped, she can go check into a hospital and immediate medical procedures will prevent her from becoming pregnant. If the life of the mother is in danger, I don't see any problem with protecting the life of the mother. Incest is an entirely different issue. Usually no one finds out about it until it is far along. I think it is awful and I don't know what you can do about it.

**Friedman**—From a moral point of view, abortion is an extraordinarily difficult issue. But, whatever I might feel about it on a personal level, one thing is clear to me: It is an issue on which there is an enormous difference of views and moral values among the populace as a whole. It is, therefore, utterly inappropriate for the government to try to impose the views of one large section of the population on the other. This position, it seems to me, is valid whether or not you personally think abortion is immoral. The fundamental principle justifying the use of the state is unanimity among its citizens. You will find an almost unanimous agreement that it is appropriate to regard murder of a living being as a crime, and that agreement will even extend to the people who have themselves become murderers. They may murder, but if you ask them, they would say "yes, it should be outlawed." In the area of abortion, you do not have anything like that degree of unanimity. If you did, it would in my view justify governmental prohibition of abortion.

**Decter**—Abortion is probably not wrong in all cases. I am a Jew, and the Jewish attitude toward abortion is that the life of the mother comes first. That is arguable. So is the opposite arguable. The source of this Jewish attitude is that the mother who lives will produce more life. Thus I often feel that abortion is probably not wrong in all cases, but there was a time, and it wasn't that long ago, when abortion was viewed as a tragic circumstance. That was an important, though possibly insufficient, difference. You see, I also have great respect for the Church's view on abortion. Because it is based on the idea that it is not for us to decide who shall live and who shall die. That is a very central and, by now, lost idea. To a non-Catholic like me, the most important idea sustained by the Church is the idea of the slippery slope. Boy, were they right about that! There *is* such a thing as a slippery slope; we are well on the way down it. If you can kill a fetus, why can't you kill a baby? Well, we've seen it come to that already. That is the point we are at now.

**Weyrich**—Abortion is wrong in all cases. I believe that if you have to choose between new life and existing life, you should choose new life. The person who has had an opportunity to live at least has been given that gift by God and should make way for a new life on earth. That is a controversial position, and even many good people in our prolife movement make an exception when the life of the mother is endangered.

**Falwell**—I feel that when the life of the potential mother is at stake, the mother and father have a right to make a moral decision based upon self-defense. In the case of rape or incest, the ideal is to lovingly help that injured girl through the pregnancy and upon the birth of the child to arrange for a stable adoption. Counseling is necessary to help the girl to spiritual and emotional health. I feel all other abortions are convenience abortions and are totally wrong. I do not believe that any law will ever be passed prohibiting abortions that does not have exceptions for rape, incest, and where the life of the mother is at stake. As a pragmatist in this area, it is far better to propose winnable legislation that prevents a majority of all abortions that are now being performed than to hang on in a futile way to an unwinnable piece of legislation that promotes our ideal. This is not compromise.



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Phillips—Abortion is wrong in all cases. No exceptions.

**What would you recommend to an unmarried pregnant woman?**

Decter—Well, that is a terrible question. If we are talking about 13- and 14-year olds, the answer is to stop sleeping around. Now the state can't stop them. Only their own social values can stop them. The one disagreement that I think I have with George Gilder is the idea that if there were no welfare program, they wouldn't be having babies: If you actually look at these little girls, you see they would be having babies even if there were no welfare program. They aren't having babies on purpose exactly, they have just utterly given up their control of their own destinies, they just let the chips fall where they may. What I am saying is beginning to be recognized in the black community, where black leaders are at least commencing to acknowledge that what is needed is not a new government program, but a new ethos—one in which these little girls will be encouraged to keep their knees together until they grow up and find husbands.

*These 13- and 14-year olds need to be encouraged to keep their knees together until they grow up and find husbands.*

*Midge Decter*

Falwell—We tell her first, that God loves her. This is not the end of the world. You are not the first person who has made such a mistake, there is an answer to your problem. The first thing she needs is hope. She is horrified. She is depressed. She needs immediate emotional deliverance. Secondly, we explain to her what abortion is. Planned Parenthood never does. Government funded abortion clinics never do this. We explain that the person within her is a living human being. We give her medical evidence to support that. In all our experience, we have never had one girl opt for abortion after she has the facts. Then, if she needs a place of residence, we move her into our Save-A-Baby Center located near Lynchburg. If she is a high school student, and the odds are that she is, we provide teachers without cost, so that she does not lose time from her education schedule. Our church dentist, counselors, and doctors freely give their time and talent to help her while she is in residence. When she goes to the hospital to deliver her child, if she has no family or insurance support, we pay for it. We are also an adoption agency, and, if she opts for adoption, as 50 percent do, we place her baby in the arms of a loving Christian couple. During her stay at our Save-A-Baby Center, we minister to her spiritually, we introduce her to Jesus Christ as her Lord and Savior. When she returns to her home, we refer her to a pastor or counselor. In the past two years, we have been able to prevent 2,500 abortions here in our Lynchburg Save-A-Baby Center. We have developed a syllabus on how to set up similar Save-A-Baby Centers nationwide. Over 300 pastors have already agreed to use our services in starting Save-A-Baby Centers in their locality. In the next three to five years, our goal is to be able to prevent 500,000 abortions each year.

Kemp—It is not enough just to oppose abortion. We must also reach out to help pregnant women find an alternative. One of the alternatives is adoption. Indeed, the number of families seeking children to adopt has never been higher. Yet here the government has actually raised barriers to those seeking an alternative to abortion. Counselors at government-financed health centers often neglect to give pregnant women any information about families eager to adopt children, even children with serious handicaps. Government ceilings on adoption fees often prevent prospective adoptive parents from meeting the cost of shelter and medical care for an unmarried mother—creating precisely the kind of "babyselling" black market that these laws were supposed to prevent. In some jurisdictions even relatives cannot adopt a child if either prospective parent is over 40. These policies should be reexamined and changed where necessary.

Phillips—Have the child. I have more respect for an unmarried mother who has a moral concern for the life of her child, than for a woman, married or unmarried, who places personal convenience ahead of that precious life. I would do everything I could to help that mother bear up, carry her baby to term, make sure that her baby is properly cared for thereafter, preferably by the mother herself, but if necessary by an adoptive home.

**What explains the sudden prevalence of overt homosexuality?**

Kristol—Homosexuality used to be repressed, not only by the law but within the individual himself. Now a lot of younger people are in fact not only permitted to become homosexuals, but some are even encouraged to become homosexuals by their social environment.

I do not like homosexuality. I think it is a misfortune for a person to be a homosexual. Incidentally, the most sensible thing ever said about homosexuality was said by a very famous homosexual poet, W. H. Auden, who regarded homosexuality as a misfortune and could never have dreamed of going to a "gay" club. He certainly was against the persecution of homosexuals, but he believed that homosexuality should be a private affair. I don't want to see homosexuals persecuted by the law or by society. But I believe it is the responsibility of homosexuals themselves to keep their sexual life as private as possible. No society, certainly not our society, is going to accept homosexuality as being as morally and socially acceptable as heterosexuality. This is something that homosexuals must come to realize. The question of reg-



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ulating homosexuality I think should really be left to the states and local communities. If San Francisco wants to create its own version of Sodom and Gomorrah I don't think the national government should intervene. On the other hand, those local communities that want to restrict public homosexuality or the advocacy of homosexuality should in my opinion be free to do so. I don't think the advocacy of homosexuality really falls under the First Amendment any more than the advocacy or publication of pornography does. The First Amendment was intended to apply to political speech, not to all forms of "expression," as some people now seem to think.

**Schlafly**—I don't know that there is more homosexuality, but it has become a political movement. Really, no one cares about someone's private sex practices. Everyone has a free will to choose what he wants to do. What the homosexuals are trying to do now, through their political movement, is to force the rest of us to respect their lifestyle as if it were as acceptable as husbands and wives. We can't acquiesce in that. It's like prostitution. Nobody can stop you if you want to be a prostitute or to patronize a prostitute, but you are not going to force us to say that it is morally acceptable.

I don't think homosexuals should be allowed to teach in schools. There are many more teachers than there are teaching jobs available. With the declining birth rate and the closing of schools, we can afford to be very choosy about who are teachers. I don't think a woman who is having an illegitimate baby should be allowed to teach in schools. We are entitled to set a moral standard for teachers that is a little higher than the ordinary run-of-the-mill job. Parents have a right to demand that.

**Weyrich**—Homosexuality is really like any other sin that we have been discussing. Once a certain type of lifestyle becomes acceptable, then all sorts of people will come forth who otherwise would not have been willing to admit the practice or even have been attracted to it. This is why I take a stand on these issues.

We have to recognize homosexuality for what it is, a deviant lifestyle. To quote the Old Testament, "It is an abomination unto the Lord." It is not normal, it is against nature, it produces a social evil. Now I have compassion for individuals who have this tendency and who engage in these practices. I don't want to apply any cruel and unusual punishment. But as long as society recognized homosexuality as deviant behavior, we really didn't have the problem with it that we now have. The important thing is that everyone be clear as to what homosexuals do and what sort of practices they engage in. What I read about the practices of these people, in their own publications, is absolutely sickening. It is vile. The people who engage in it need to be pitied, counseled, reached out to in a way that will bring them back, because there is no question that homosexuality is a choice. Yes, some people have that tendency, but the actual practice of homosexuality is a conscious choice just as engaging a prostitute on the part of a heterosexual is a conscious choice.

There should be a social stigma attached to homosexuality. The idea that homosexuality should be a protected civil right is an outrage. I have told black and Hispanic audiences than no one should be more enraged by this concept then they. What these deviants are suggesting is that somehow their immoral behavior is on a par with being black or on a par with being Hispanic. Now, if I were black or Hispanic, I would be incensed by this because there is something which is an act of God, namely, what race I was born into, being equated with a choice for deviant behavior.

Homosexuality should not be accorded any special recognition. The sexual relationship between people of the same sex should remain illegal, and for precisely the reason that it is having devastating consequences on society as a whole. I think we are seeing only the beginnings of an AIDS epidemic, and if we could go to the lengths we did about polio—closing down public facilities, public swimming pools—what are we going to do about the AIDS problem? The AIDS epidemic is a threat, not just to the homosexual community, but to all of us because of the food they cook, because many are employed in restaurants, because of the public facilities that they use, because of the way they interrelate sometimes with nonhomosexuals.

**Siegel**—Homosexuality, reflecting my own tradition, is not right. It is a practice which goes against the obvious purpose of creation. However, I think people should have the civil right to pursue their activities without hindrance from the state, assuming that children or incompetents are not involved. My greatest objection to the gay rights movement is its aim to legitimize homosexuality as an option that is morally no different from the conventional option. Society cannot tolerate that. Homosexuality is different from heterosexuality in its moral


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tone. It is different because the basis of our society is the family.

I don't think that homosexuals should ipso facto be prevented from teaching in schools. There are two obvious things that they should not do: one is recruitment and the other is propagation of the idea that homosexuality is an acceptable alternative to the more conventional lifestyle.

**Kemp**—I believe homosexuality is contrary to Biblical values and guidelines, and contrary to human nature. However, we conservatives need to remember that the person, as opposed to his behavior, deserves compassion, not judgment. Overt homosexuality has been encouraged by media attention and a decline in the belief in objective moral values. It is difficult to see, though, how the government could effectively prohibit such private behavior. The more troubling questions arise when homosexuals demand public recognition of homosexuality as an acceptable way of life. Parents have a right to object to teachers—crucial role models for their children—who make this claim in the public schools, just as they have a right to object to sex education that presents sex without sound moral guidelines. I also believe that *communities* should be able to control the existence of public bathhouses, "adult" bookstores, and other establishments that offend community standards of decency.

*I believe that homosexuals should be afforded total civil rights like all other Americans.*

*Reverend Jerry Falwell*

**Friedman**—I don't think it is any business of the government, so long as it is purely voluntary. Obviously, if a homosexual violates the rights of others by engaging in homosexual rape, that is a different question. But, I see no reason why there should be any restrictions on voluntary contracts among consenting adults.

**Falwell**—Homosexuality is a perverted lifestyle. It is performed only by humans. As a theologian, I would say that homosexuality, like all sin, has its roots in the fall of man in the Garden of Eden. Because we have a fallen nature, we are capable of doing anything. I do not believe that homosexuality is inherited, I believe it is learned. Heterosexual promiscuity is also learned. Sinful lifestyles are a matter of choice. It is impossible to pinpoint what causes a person to do wrong. Some psychiatrists and psychologists like to do that but I think they are making a mistake. Some would attribute a homosexual child to a dominant mother; that may or may not be the case. Others would say that associations with homosexuals would cause their son or daughter to go wrong. That also may or may not be so. Nevertheless, it is a learned lifestyle, and can be unlearned.

Obviously, most states have laws against adultery, sodomy, and other sex sins. While most people would maintain that such laws are necessary, I can't think of anyone who would believe that this provides any therapeutic cure. These laws are simply for the protection of society but don't help anyone find a way out. I don't believe that state punishment of homosexuals provides any answer whatever. I personally believe that homosexuals should be afforded total civil rights like all other Americans. Equal access to housing accommodations and job opportunities is guaranteed to all Americans in the Constitution. The problem with homosexuality is that most people look on this sin in a different way than all other sins. Most Americans look with great contempt on the homosexual. That is why we cannot help homosexuals. They immediately perceive this contempt and realize there is no love or reaching out there.

As long as the homosexual is not flaunting his or her behavior as an acceptable lifestyle, and is not recruiting students, there is no supportable reason for not allowing him to teach in a public school. Now I say this is true in public schools. Religious schools accept no government funds, they set their own standards. We therefore would not hire a homosexual or a promiscuous heterosexual to teach in our Christian schools.

**Evans**—Homosexuality is a sign of civilizational decadence. It is a form of life-denying death ethic in our society. If the homosexual ethic prevailed, that would be the end of the human race.

I'm not in favor of the government policing what people do in their bedrooms. But homosexuals should stay in the closet. They certainly shouldn't be role models. There is a serious question whether homosexuals should be teachers in public schools. We must resist the notion that homosexual conduct as such is entitled to civil rights protection.

**Tyrrell**—Why is there so much homosexuality? I suppose, for one reason, Americans are encouraged to be endlessly self-dramatic. I am not so sure that there is all that much homosexuality around. I am really not very interested in the subject any more than I am interested in heterosexuality or constipation. I'm really not interested in a person's excretions or secretions so long as I don't have to witness them. I don't think anyone else in our society should have to witness or bear testimonials to them either.

I think that the state does have an obligation to protect us from tasteless exhibitionism. Or proselytizing. The state ought to reflect, to some degree, the standards of the community. And those standards, of course, ought to be decided by a democratic people. I do think that heterosexuals and homosexuals ought to be allowed to vote, and to be protected by the police, but if our society decides that self-proclaimed homosexuals ought not to teach in grammar schools, I don't think that that is a draconian measure. If some teacher in the second grade



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carried on in the way that Casanova did, I don't think that there is any question in anyone's mind that the school has a right to boot the guy. The school also has a right to boot out some homosexual carrying on in a public way about his erotic life.

**Hatch**—What concerns me most is that the homosexual community increasingly seems to want affirmative approval of its mores and lifestyle, and not simply tolerance of their right to conduct their own private lifestyles. Further, whatever one's view of the proper legal attitude toward homosexual behavior, the upsurge of homosexuality is symptomatic of serious social ills, in my opinion. Their culture is antithetical to that of the overwhelming number of the American people.

Although I disapprove of the government imposing burdens upon homosexuals, or interfering in their private affairs, I have great difficulties with the idea of making homosexuals a "protected" group for purposes of our civil rights laws akin to racial or ethnic minorities. Most importantly, I would hope that we could do what is necessary to establish a social environment in which homosexuality becomes less alluring. My personal view remains that homosexual relations are sinful.

**Phillips**—Homosexuality is one of the ultimate acts of rebellion against God and godly law. It is an act of rejection of traditional authority, an act of self-centeredness and selfishness. It is part of a humanistic world-view which denies a godly purpose to our lives, and which encourages people to think and act in non-productive, existential, self-destructive, and sinful ways.

Government should stop funding homosexual groups, and stop trying to treat homosexuality as something other than wrong. People should have the right to separate themselves from evil. They shouldn't have to hire homosexuals, or rent to homosexuals. I don't see any reason why there should be any special rights for homosexuals.

**Decter**—One reason for so much homosexuality is the terror that angry, truculent girls and women have introduced into the relations between the sexes. I see young boys absolutely terrified of girls. Now I suppose that boys were always afraid of girls and girls afraid of boys, but what we have now is something quite beyond that. So in my view, homosexuality is a means of escaping from girls, from women. Another contributory factor is that, like divorce, homosexuality is being made light of. It is now common wisdom that any way you do it is equal to any other way you do it, so why not? Still another factor—and no doubt I could get slaughtered for saying this—is that homosexuality provides a handy escape from manhood, which is to say, fatherhood. It is inevitable, when you have women attempting to escape from womanhood, that you will have men attempting to escape from manhood. I couldn't say with any assurance that I know which came first, this sudden seizure of women running away from being women, or of men running away from being men. But they are certainly interconnected.

The attitude to be taken toward homosexuality is that it is an aberration which a number of people for one reason or another seem to suffer from. And that as long as they mind their own business, society will mind its own business. I don't have any special passion about homosexuals, I live in peace and amity with all sorts of homosexuals. But homosexual activism must be resisted.

## How do you interpret the establishment clause of the First Amendment?

**Weyrich**—It means to me what the Founding Fathers meant. They wanted to prevent the establishment of a single church. Their concern grew out of historic problems with the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Calvinist church in Europe, where you were discriminated against if you didn't conform to the religious practices of the area. The goal was to protect religious freedom, not to prevent us from saying prayers.

**Friedman**—I interpret it as meaning that there should not be an official governmental church and that the government should be neutral. Indeed, I am very radical in this respect. I am opposed to the tax exemption of universities, churches, etc. All of that is an indirect way of subsidizing religious establishments, and ought to be in violation of the First Amendment. I believe, and have written and believed for a long time, that our present public school system is in violation of the establishment clause. No school system can avoid teaching a set of values. It has often been pointed out that a humanistic set of values, indeed agnosticism, is inculcated in the public schools. Agnosticism is a form of religion just as Christianity or Judaism or Mohammedanism is.

**Evans**—It is so crystal clear what the establishment clause means that I don't consider it a question of interpretation. The intent was to ensure that the federal government would not interfere with the exisiting religious practices of the states. Ten of the 13 states had official sanction for religion; three had established churches. On the day the first Congress passed the First Amendment in September 1789, it also called for a day of national prayer and thanksgiving. The meaning of the clause is clear: There should be no nationally established religion. The Courts have totally ignored this and foisted on the country a fictional history of the establishment clause.

**Hatch**—The Founding Fathers did not want to establish a national religion, nor did they want to give comfort to any particular church or denomination. The Founding Fathers also wanted to leave these matters up to the states, a principle that was well understood throughout most of our constitutional history, at least until the Supreme Court, beginning with the *Engel* vs. *Vitale* case in 1962, started acting as a super school board, determining what can and cannot be done in public schools of this land. The Supreme Court has been legislating its own views toward morality, religion, and ethics.

**Tyrrell**—Madison would be astonished at the claim that



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some teacher cannot mention God, or Yahweh, as we say at home, to his class. Or to read a prayer. I didn't realize that this country's atheists and agnostics had such fragile character that the mere mention of God might cause them grave distress. I am sorry to hear that the country's atheists are such wimps. Skeptic that I am, I have managed to hear God referred to during many of the great works of art and don't hold it against Beethoven or Schubert or Handel. Of course, what you have here is Madalyn Murray O'Hair and her ilk simply bringing down on us another form of religious fanaticism. Unfortunately, she is on top right now. I don't care to see either side on top.

**Would you like to see prayers said in the public schools?**

**Schlafly**—I am not sure prayers should be said, but I think the state should not be prohibiting anyone from praying. Good heavens, you can say all kinds of bad words in school, so I don't see why saying prayerful words in school should be prevented. We didn't have any prayer problem up to 1962 when the Supreme Court created the problem. As far as we can tell, only one person was unhappy. There was no general unhappiness, no belief that this country was "establishing a church" or interfering with religious freedom. The Supreme Court prayer decision was a total shock to this country; we didn't understand how one unhappy person could rewrite the First Amendment.

What about the question of what should happen to children who choose not to participate in prayers? This argument is made by many of the same people who have been promoting sexuality courses in the schools that are so offensive to religious and moral values, and are so embarrassing and intimidating to the child. The same people who force the embarrassing sex courses on school children are crying crocodile tears about the child supposedly intimidated because someone wants to say the grace, "God is great, God is good; we thank Him for this food." There is absolutely no way that saying that grace before lunch in school could possibly be as offensive, as intimidating, as embarrassing, as objectionable as the sexuality courses which force the child in a co-ed environment to discuss intimate acts, intimate parts of the body, intimate conversations, and the private behavior and attitudes of his parents.

**Phillips**—This is a question of free speech. Restrictions on prayer are restrictions on speech. This should be entirely a local matter. Parents should have free rein. I would place no restrictions nor offer any guidelines.

Every idea is implicitly religious. Every word and deed of men and women has religious connotations—our music, our math, our painting, our sculpture. Everything in our culture flows from a godly perspective or a humanistic perspective. It is hypocrisy for government schools to promote pleasure-oriented sex, while prohibiting the vocal acknowledgment of the source of authority for all that is in the world.

**Siegel**—The proponents of prayers are overstating the benefits when they say that all discipline problems and unwed mothers and so on would disappear if we were to have prayers in public schools. I also believe that the opponents have overstated the dangers, warning that the heavens would fall down and the whole republic would crumble. Maybe they are both wrong. Public schools in this country have been undertaking the responsibility of all kinds of nonformal education, sex education, driver education, family education. I believe that the art and the knowledge of praying is an important part of the nurture of a child, most children, unless their parents are atheist or opposed to religion. And therefore, I don't see why we should not have some kind of praying in schools just to show children how to pray. If everyone had good will, I believe it should be possible to formulate a prayer that would not be offensive to any religious groups, such as the Regents prayer in New York. We could have what I would call an equal time system—some time to Christians, some time to Jews, or whatever other significant religious groups are present.

*I didn't realize that this country's atheists and agnostics had such fragile character that the mere mention of God might cause them grave distress. I am sorry that the country's atheists are such wimps.*

*R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.*

**Tyrrell**—I think that a teacher and her class should be able to say some sort of prayer as long as it is not calling for the revival of nazism or the death of the president of the United States by hanging or some enthusiasm like that. It depends on what they are praying for or against.

**Kristol**—I think this issue should be brought out within school districts and sometimes within schools. You know, we used to have prayers, we used to have this kind of local option, up until around 20 years ago. And it was not particularly controversial. I also think that having some kind of prayer in schools is good for the students. When I went to public schools, we used to open assembly by reading one of the Psalms. That is how I learned the Psalms. And I am grateful for having been able to do so. Presumably, any kind of local option would have to be restricted to some kind of ecumenical prayer, like the reading of the Psalms, or a moment of silent prayer. It is good for the students to learn to stand in silence for a few minutes in an attitude of deference to something or some-



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one. It is useful for students to learn that there is an area that can be called sacred apart from the profane.

**Godwin**—I would like to see voluntary prayer. The children don't have any problem with this, and grass-roots Americans don't have any problems with this.

These endless arguments about hypothetical scenarios in the classrooms—of some poor Jewish child being required to pray a Christian prayer, or some Christian child being required to pray a Moslem prayer—simply have no real life application.

Poll after poll indicates that about 85 percent of American citizens would like to see voluntary prayer returned to public schools. Most would add that they would not mind if the Bible were read, although that is not at issue.

The people of the last generation who grew up in public schools where prayers, of one type or another, were often said, often by someone of a faith other than the person involved, look back on such practices with fondness and some nostalgia. In a country that put 185,000 teachers in the hospitals last year as a result of physical attacks, in a country with a massive drug epidemic in our public schools, in a country that has a city called Boston where a third of the children interviewed said they brought some sort of weapon to schools last year, I find it absolutely incredible that people are agonizing over whether children are going to be injured by voluntary prayer.

Public school children are much more in danger of being damaged by ignorance, exposure to drugs, and violence, than by a moment of voluntary prayer.

**Decter**—Oh God. I think that with the world falling down around our ears, with infanticide coming into vogue, with parricide next, this is hardly an earth-shattering issue. I think the parents should decide. I went to a public school, where, as a Jew, I was put under a certain amount of external pressure about such things as the celebration of Christmas and Easter. On the other hand, there was a reasonable amount of courtesy shown me.

The issue of school prayer is not really the issue of school prayer. That is not why it is bubbling up so vigorously now. The issue of school prayer is the issue of whether the American civic community is in a condition to assert certain values. School prayer is not going to help. It is merely a symbolic gesture on the part of those who want society to be willing to take a stand on certain values. If society were already taking such a stand in other areas, I am not so sure that the school prayer people would be so up in arms about a two-minute prayer. They would have other things to worry about.

**Friedman**—I am opposed to requiring or permitting prayers in public schools. I am opposed to the prayer amendment. I think it just exacerbates the undesirable situation that you have now. And you are not going to remedy a fundamentally bad system by putting patches of that kind on it. The right solution to the prayer prob-



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lem is very simple, and that is to institute a voucher system under which parents could choose which school their children go to. Then, if they want their children to go to a school which has prayers, fine. If they want their children to go to a school that does not have prayers, fine.

**Kemp**—Voluntary prayer should be allowed in public schools, because to prohibit it establishes by default the notion that faith in man, not God, is the only guide to life. If a prayer is said aloud, it need be no more than a general acknowledgment of the existence, power, authority, and love of God, the Creator. A time of silent prayer would also be acceptable. Children who choose not to participate in prayer should be given that freedom without stigma or criticism.

**Weyrich**—I favor whatever prayers the local community wants—as long as the prayer is voluntary, and as long as there is no attempt by the state to impose a particular prayer on all school districts. The U.S. Senate provides a perfect example of what could be done. Every day it opens with a prayer, sometimes by a rabbi, sometimes a Catholic priest, sometimes a Mormon. No one takes any offense. I don't think prayers are going to hurt kids so long as they are voluntary. There is enough tolerance in our society that if kids feel differently, they shouldn't face a problem.

The absence of the recognition of God as having authority in all places has been one of the contributing factors to our chaotic and undisciplined classrooms. Merely saying prayers won't have an overnight effect in restoring order, but it will have an effect over the long run.

**Hatch**—I was the principal supporter of a constitutional amendment permitting silent prayer or reflection. An intellectually sound argument—though I disagree with it—can be made against vocal prayer. There are very few intellectually sound arguments against silent prayer or meditation.

I believe that we could have passed such an amendment and that this would have been a tremendous victory. It would have done away with the hostility between government and religion and would have reasserted once and for all, within the Constitution, the idea that children have a right to pray in public schools; that such prayer can contribute to the development of a child's character. The issue is how to permit voluntary student prayer while still providing a reasonable accommodation to those who do not want to participate. Silent prayer or meditation strikes the best balance in my view.

**Falwell**—I think the president's proposed amendment is a masterpiece. It does not allow for any child to be forced to pray or not to pray. It does not allow the state to compose a prayer. This means no teacher or school official can write a prayer or mandate a prayer. Unbelieving children can look out the window, do homework, or go to the water fountain. Religious children may in turn offer, recite, or read any prayer they wish. This is absolute pluralism and free speech. More recently, the equal access bill would have allowed religious children the use of classrooms for facilities not being used before, during, or after school hours for religious purposes. This privilege is now being enjoyed by the cheerleaders, Spanish clubs, etc. But religious children are discriminated against and, their free speech is abridged; they cannot have the same privilege as other students.

Attendance of such free access happenings in the school building would be totally voluntary. During the session, these religious children could say or do as they please. Everyone would attend voluntarily. I cannot imagine why the ACLU, which claims to be an organization created to guarantee civil rights to disenfranchised minorities, would not be on the side of religious children who are the most disenfranchised minorities today.

*This country enjoys a Judeo-Christian heritage. The majority of people claim to be Christian but Jewish theology has had an undeniable influence on the law.*

*Ronald Godwin*

### Would you call America a Christian country?

**Tyrrell**—Well, it has been called worse. I would expect that it is a Christian country. It doesn't make me feel any better or any worse to call it that. Throughout history people have generally had religions. I for one don't find that unusual or shocking. It just depends, as I say, on what religion they are. If they start slaying atheists and offering them up to our Heavenly Father, then I am against it.

**Hatch**—American is a moral, good country founded on the Judeo-Christian ethic. While there is no question that the prevailing religious sentiment in America is Christian, there is also no question that, as a result of the Constitution and the attitudes of the American people, this is a country open to and tolerant of all religious beliefs and feelings. One of the educating aspects of the Constitution is that it teaches us to accord tolerance and understanding to those who do not share our own religious beliefs or practices. On an issue such as school prayer, the Constitution mandates that the majority in this country must be tolerant and respectful of minority differences.

It is also appropriate, however, for the minority to have a sense of tolerance and respect for the religious sentiments of the majority. I think American society has historically struck the proper balance between a respect



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for individual freedom and diversity and the need for some general consensus on moral values. A healthy society must respect both these principles. Society has a legitimate role in transmitting to future generations an appreciation of the inherited values of their civilization. At the same time, society should make every effort to conduct this education in a way that is not insensitive to those minorities that possess distinctively different values.

**Kemp**—Faith and religion are private, in the sense that an individual should not be allowed to force others to accept his or her religious beliefs, but public, in the sense that religious beliefs must necessarily influence each individual's views of appropriate public policy. As a Congressman, I cannot somehow put aside all my beliefs about right and wrong simply because they stem from my faith! Indeed, certain religious views lie at the heart of our political system. The "inalienable rights" to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are based on the belief that each individual is created by God and has a special value in His eyes.

*If San Francisco wants to create its own version of Sodom and Gomorrah I don't think the national government should intervene.*

*Irving Kristol*

This does not mean that the United States is a "Christian" country: we have no established national religion, though Judeo-Christian values have profoundly influenced our development and our constitutional form of government.

But whether Christians, Jews, or Deists, the founders agreed that without a common belief in the one God who created us, there could be no freedom and no recourse if a majority were to seek to abrogate the rights of the minority.

**Siegel**—No. Christians are an overwhelming majority, but there are obviously significant elements in the population that do not profess Christianity nor should they be expected to profess Christianity.

**Weyrich**—Only nominally. Although the majority of Americans call themselves Christians, the ideals of a Christian society have long been abandoned. I have been quoted as advocating the "Christianizing" of America. This doesn't mean stamping out other religions, but rather a reinstatement of Christian ideals. I made the comment in a discussion of the loosening morals of public officials, among whom stealing and unethical behavior has become an accepted posture. I was calling for a return to Christian virtues. The hallmark of the Christian faith, if practiced, is tolerance and love toward one's fellow man.

**Decter**—Well, it is still far more of a Christian country than it gives itself credit for being. But it is a kind of miracle, this country, in that it has managed over centuries to find the formulas for extending pluralism and keeping the civic peace at the same time. Of course it is messy and patch-work, but the U.S. has managed as no other country has managed to do this. Part of the terrible polarization that is going on now is that we are preparing to take this miracle and throw it away.

That is why among all the conservatives, I am maybe the most anti-libertarian about the public schools. I am fiercely loyal to the public school system, which is dreadful and in very bad shape and a failure and everything else you want to say against it.

But the public school system was responsible during all those years for the notion that there was a common culture. And that is very important for this country, even though the existence of a common culture has always been partly fiction. I think we tamper with the future of the public school system at our peril. I am against tuition tax credits, and I am against all those things that will undermine the public school system.

**Falwell**—We are a nation under God founded upon the Judeo-Christian tradition, namely principles out of the Old and New Testaments. I would say that the dominant number of persons who originally discovered and started this nation were Christians. However, I could concede that America is not in practice a Christian nation.

**Phillips**—America was founded on Judeo-Christian principles. The laws of the several states were based on English common law and both the Old and the New Testament. Every institution has a set of philosophical premises, and the philosophical premises of the United States were for the most part Judeo-Christian premises. At the same time, America is governed by the First Amendment.

We have been willing to permit diversity in many areas, including faith and belief. It is because of this religious liberty that America has flourished.

**Godwin**—This country enjoys a Judeo-Christian heritage. The majority of people claim to be Christian, but Jewish theology has had an undeniable influence on the law. I would call America a Judeo-Christian country. This is not meant to be a legal description. I am simply saying that probably those two influences are dominant.

**Evans**—It was in its origins. Every colony had a statement of its religious purpose either in its charter or in its constitution. To this day, the values of our country arise from our biblical heritage: The sanctity of life, the whole notion that individual rights must be respected, the idea of personal freedom and limited government, comes out of our biblical heritage.



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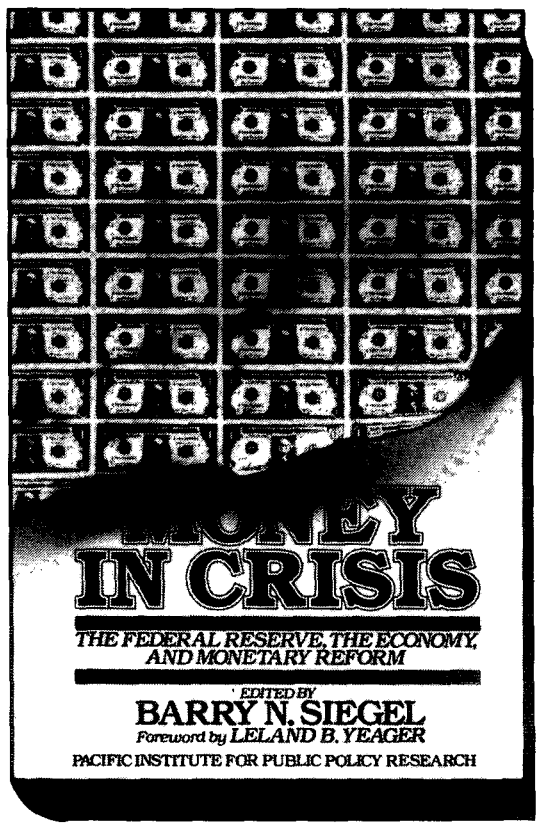
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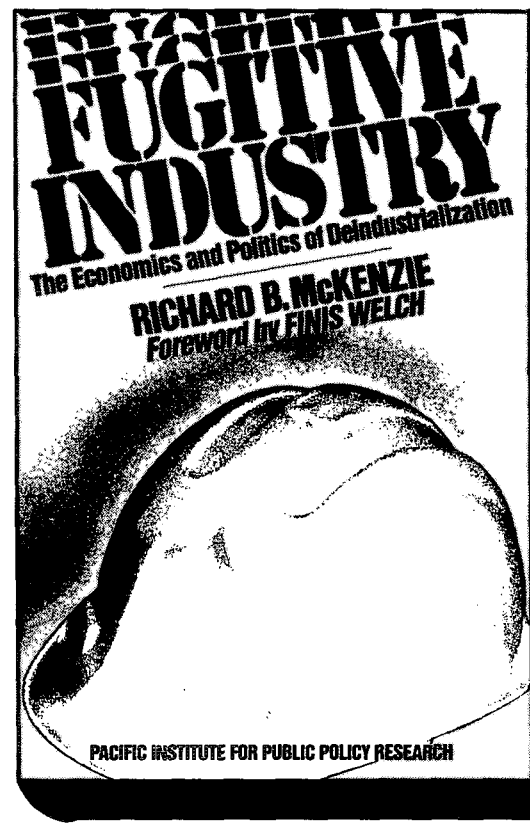
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# The Unreported War Against the Sandinistas

## *6,000 Indian Guerrillas Are Fighting for Their Land*

**Bernard Nietschmann**

*"We are living in sorrow. We don't know when we'll wipe away the tears. We hope God hears our cries. This is more than we can bear."*

A Miskito villager in eastern Nicaragua

The Miskito, Sumo, and Rama Indians have lived for centuries in the tropical forests and savannas and along the rivers and coast of eastern Nicaragua. Under the Somoza dictatorship, they resided in comparative peace, solitude, and semi-autonomy. But since the Sandinista takeover in 1979, their homelands have been taken away, and they have been forced to move from their homes and villages. They refer to what has happened to them as *Indian trabilka* (Indian trouble).

One-fourth—43,000—of the 165,000 Miskito, Sumo, and Rama people have been displaced from their homes; they have either been forced into government-controlled camps or they have fled to Honduras and Costa Rica as refugees. One-half of Miskito and Sumo villages have been destroyed. Indian rights to self-government and to traditional lands, waters, and resources have been abolished. Subsistence and staple foods are scarce in the refugee camps, hunger is common, medicine and doctors are unavailable in many communities, freedom of movement is severely restricted or prohibited. More than 80 Indians taken by government forces have disappeared and are unaccounted for in prisons or relocation camps.

Today, 6,000 Miskito, Sumo, and Rama unpaid volunteers are fighting the Sandinistas for the return of their homelands. *Indian aiklabanka,* they call it, Indian war. The Indians resisting Managua do not see themselves as *contras* (counter-revolutionaries), but revolutionaries, warriors who were the first to rise up against the national government to liberate their own territory and people. For more than two years, a full-scale war between Sandinista and Indian forces has raged throughout the extensive Indian territory, involving ambushes, head-to-head pitched battles, bombing and strafing by Sandinista aircraft and helicopters, and Sandinista counterinsurgency to deny food, information, and shelter to the warriors.

Indian-led warriors have won major battles at Seven Benk (July 4, 1982), Big Sandy Bay (July 31, 1982), Limbaika (August 1982), La Tronquera (May 13, 1983), Gunpoint (June 23, 1983), Puerto Isabel (October 1983), Haulover (October 1–11, 1983), Waspam-Leimus (March 1984), and Big Sandy Bay (April 1984). Sandinista military forces have attacked more than 35 civilian communities, among them Leimus (December 22, 1981), Big Sandy Bay (January 7, 1982), Tasbapauni (June 17, 1982; January 18, 1983), Musawas (June 1982), Yulu and Klingna (July 1982), Rama Cay (August 1982), Boom Sirpi (August 13, 1982), Wounta (September 14, 1982; October 1983) and Haulover (September 23, 1982; October 1983). Many of these villages have traded hands several times.

### Political Orphans

This war has gone mostly unreported, partly because Indian eastern Nicaragua has been a closed military zone since January 25, 1982. Entry by outside observers has been limited and selective. When reporters and representatives of international agencies have managed to visit the area from Managua accompanied by Sandinista authorities, their access to information is often constrained by what the Indians call "talk to live," that is, the people must live with what they have said after the outsiders leave. Most of the noncombatant Indians are suspicious and distrustful of anyone who works for or with the Sandinistas, or who comes with government permission to question them about conditions.

At the invitation of the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama nations, I have made three trips to eastern Nicaragua since mid-1983, to learn firsthand from the civilians and warriors why they are resisting. Each time I entered Nicaragua with the resistance, running Sandinista air-sea-land surveillance and blockades. In addition to visiting many Indian communities and warrior base camps

BERNARD NIETSCHMANN *is professor of geography at the University of California, Berkeley. Author of three books on the Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples, he is now working on another based on three trips since mid-1983 with the Indian resistance inside Nicaragua.*



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**Miskito warrior inside Nicaragua, with M-60 machine gun.**

Photos: Bernard Nietschmann



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**Creole and Indian MISURASATA fighters ready to attack an EPS (Ejercito Popular Sandinista) outpost.**

inside Nicaragua, I talked with refugees in Costa Rica and Honduras and lived with Indian resistance leaders in Costa Rica.

I have known many of these people for 15 years since I first came to eastern Nicaragua to do research on the indigenous use of terrestrial and marine resources and how it has been affected by foreign and domestic commercial resource exploitation. In 1980, at the invitation of the Sandinista government, I went to eastern Nicaragua and submitted a proposal for Indian management and control of a coastal and marine national park.

The Indian resistance consists of two organizations. MISURASATA (an acronym composed of the first syllables of Miskito, Sumo, Rama, Sandinista), led by Brooklyn Rivera, is one of five groups in the Democratic Revolutionary Alliance (ARDE) headed by Edén Pastora and Alfonso Robelo. Its political base is in Costa Rica, with military bases in "liberated territory" in southeastern Nicaragua and Indian warrior camps scattered throughout central eastern Nicaragua. MISURA, led by Steadman Fagoth, and partially coordinated with Adolfo Calero's Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), has political and military bases in Honduras and permanent warrior forces along the northeastern coast.

Messrs. Fagoth and Rivera were close college friends and worked together to build the MISURASATA organization during the first two years of the Sandinista regime. In 1981, when the Managua government outlawed MISURASATA, Mr. Fagoth escaped to Honduras to set up the MISURA resistance and was later joined by Mr. Rivera. However, the two had a falling-out over policy and personal issues, and Mr. Rivera reestablished a political base for MISURASATA in Costa Rica, where he helped to form ARDE.

Though allied with opposed anti-Sandinista groups, the two Indian organizations frequently combine forces. They share common Indian goals: To establish rights for self-determination, political status as distinct peoples, recognition of traditional rights to indigenous land, waters, and resources, and autonomous control over their homelands (similar to what the San Blas Cuna have in the Indian-controlled Comarca de San Blas in Panama). Rafael Zelaya, a MISURASATA leader, puts it this way: "We want autonomy and self-determination so we can protect our culture, our Indian life, Indian rights. Without Indian determination, our way of life will be dominated by capitalism or marxism. Those are not Indian ways. We have our own ways."

Brooklyn Rivera says that all Nicaraguan governments have been anti-Indian: "Zelaya, the Somozas, the Sandinistas. Right-wing, left-wing, colonialist, capitalist, Marxist, all governments are anti-Indian. They want what is ours: Indian land and resources. They want to make our nations part of their nation."

Because the Indians' aims are limited to free their land and peoples from oppressive state control, not to overthrow the Sandinista government or to make it more democratic, they are political orphans without an outside ally. According to Brooklyn Rivera, "When we began our struggle many governments said they were willing to help us because they thought we only wanted to fight the Sandinistas. They did not understand the nature of our struggle, that we want to free ourselves from all oppression. We want autonomy. We want control over our lives, our land, our resources. These same governments have Indians in their countries so they didn't help because of what our struggle represents."

Unable to establish an independent, direct source of support, MISURASATA and MISURA maintain alliances with ARDE and FDN because they share a common enemy and needs. The FDN and ARDE supply funds and material to the MISURA and MISURASATA forces. In turn, Indian warriors and the east coast are key elements in FDN and ARDE strategies to wear down the Sandinista army and militia, both economically and militarily. The Sandinistas are the most vulnerable in the vast, almost roadless east coast with its hostile civilian populations and very effective indigenous guerrilla campaign.

The alliances are uneasy. The FDN and ARDE seek to make the Nicaraguan government more democratic and less doctrinaire. The Indians seek to establish Indian control over Indian land. The FDN and ARDE see the Indians' goal for an autonomous territory as a request for special rights (similar to the FSLN stance), while the Indians see it as a historic right that they will win, not request.

### Cherished Autonomy

MISURASATA has a signed agreement with ARDE for indigenous rights to territory and autonomy; MISURA has no such agreement with the FDN. Whether on paper or not, Indian leaders and warriors know that indigenous



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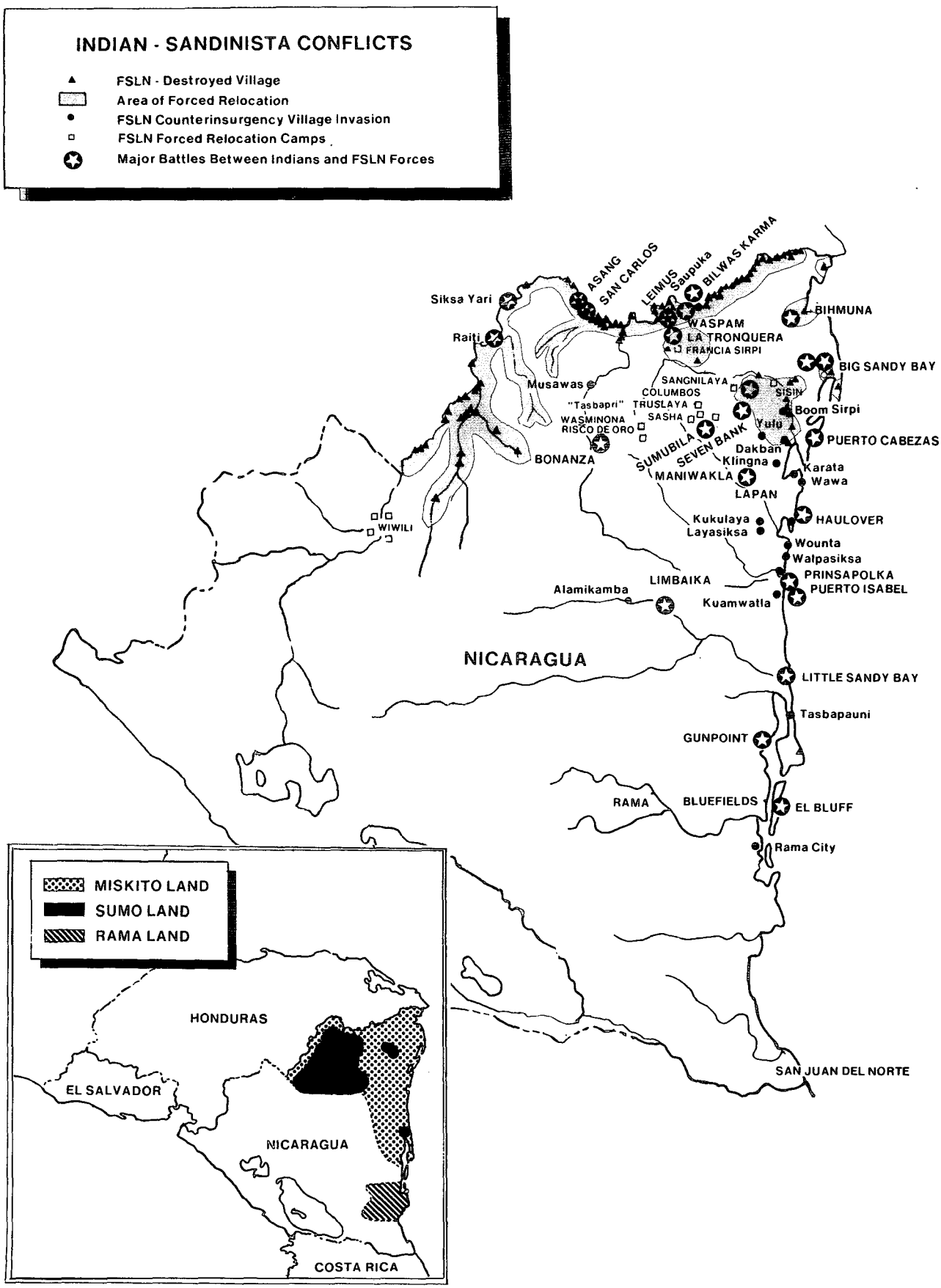


Maps by Bernard Nietschmann, drawn by Karen Portik



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**MISURASATA and MISURA warrior leaders at a Moravian church service, Indian territory, eastern Nicaragua.**

rights will be guaranteed only by their actions and capacity to reclaim and defend their own nations.

The Indians could field 10,000 warriors inside Nicaragua if their requests for additional weapons were met. An Indian guerrilla army of that size could control most of their territory, relegating the Sandinista military forces to "garrison islands" in Puerto Cabezas, Bluefields, and La Rosita-Bonanza. Without MISURASATA and MISURA support and participation, FDN and ARDE combatants would be forced from Indian territory by warriors and civilians. The dilemma for ARDE and the FDN is this: Only the Indians can wrest eastern Nicaragua from the Sandinistas, but to do this thousands of Indians who are trained and ready to fight must be armed, and a large Indian army would later present a formidable counterweight to any new or modified national government that tries to control Indian lands and peoples.

Like so many nations, Nicaragua is a creation of artificial colonial boundaries imposed over preexisting indigenous territories, reformed by competing regional states. Two countries exist within one recognized nation: western Nicaragua with its Spanish-speaking, Catholic, mestizo population densely settled on fertile Pacific lowland volcanic soils, and eastern Nicaragua with its Miskito-Sumo-English-speaking, Protestant, largely Indian and Creole peoples sparsely settled on thin Caribbean lowland tropical soils. Different peoples, different histories, different geographies, two countries, one nation.

The Miskito, Sumo, and Rama peoples have long occupied district territories in what is today Nicaragua. They resisted, with varying degrees of success and failure, more than four centuries of foreign intrusion. The Spanish were militarily stopped at the borders of Indian territory. The French, English, and Dutch buccaneers and pirates were accepted through trade alliances. Great Britain established a 200-year presence based on trade and resource extraction that did not interfere with Indian sovereignty over traditional communal lands. Short-lived Spanish control was overthrown by the Miskito in 1800 when they ousted a Spanish military garrison from their territory, asserting homeland autonomy more than 20 years before other Latin American anti-Spanish wars of independence established new states from former colonies. The Treaty of Managua (1860) recognized Indian autonomy in a portion of their territories but was ignored in 1894 when a Nicaraguan military force invaded the area attempting to "reincorporate" it into the nation.

During the 43 years of the Somozas' dictatorships, foreign and national resource export businesses expanded operations on the coast to exploit gold, timber, shrimp, sea turtles, lobster, and other resources. Indians from villages and Creoles from Bluefields and Puerto Cabezas provided wage labor for the companies or sought resources to sell for cash. Even though government leases and unfettered capitalism bypassed Indian determination over the most valuable commercial properties, the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama maintained effective control over most of their village communal lands and resources. According to a Miskito woman fighting with MISURASATA, "Somoza was bad but he just took the money. We had our land to live from and to pass on to our children. And we could work anywhere." Capitalism put strong pressure on Indian society and environmental resources. The Indians did not resist because most problems were seen as having an economic context and solution: One could work to solve cash scarcity, and one still had access to village lands and labor that supported subsistence.

The Sandinista revolution took place in the "Spanish interior," far from Indian lands and peoples. Before the overthrow of Somoza, clandestine Sandinista radio



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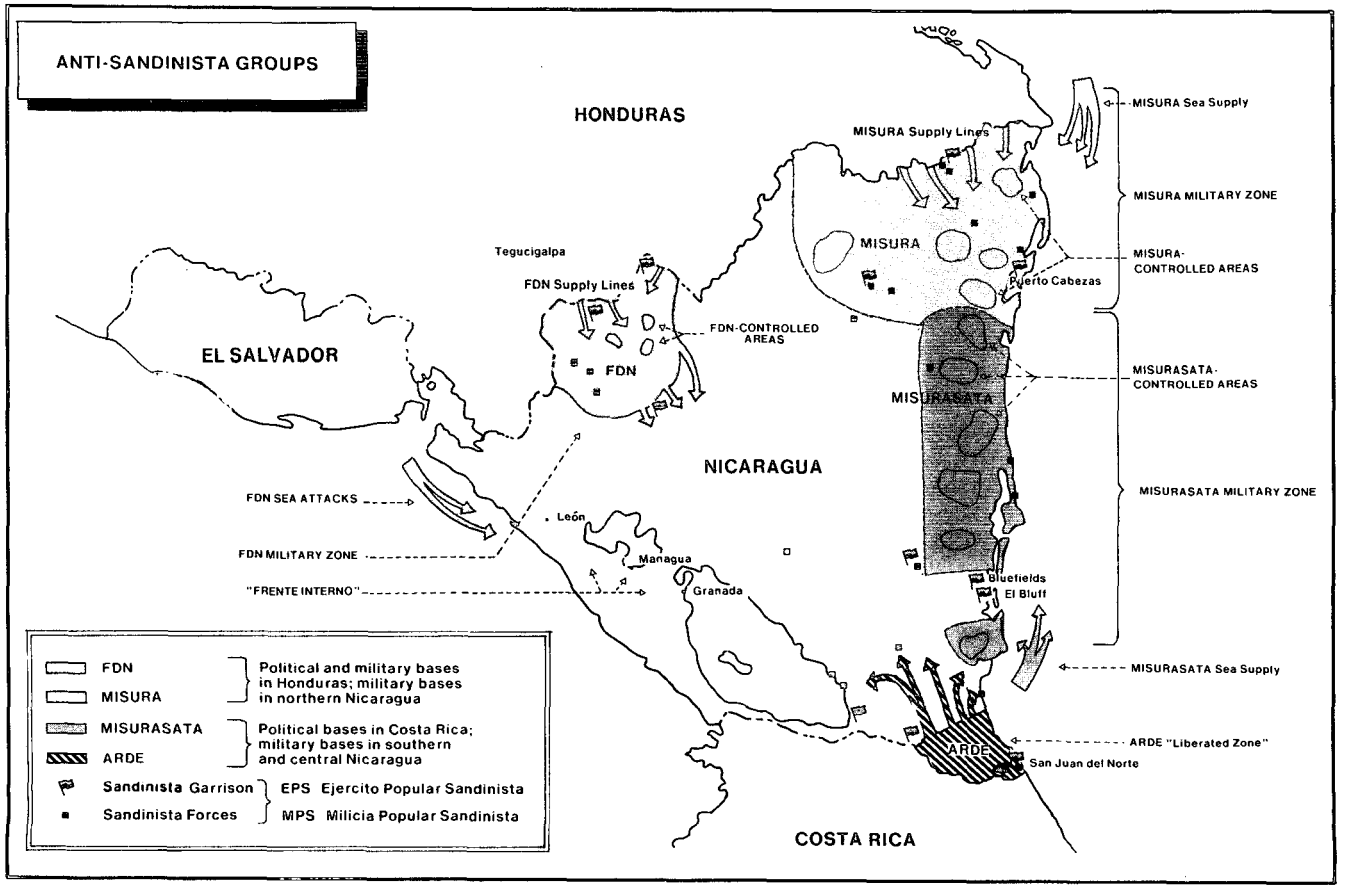
A combined MISURASATA-MISURA warrior group deep inside Indian territory, eastern Nicaragua.



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broadcasts promised a "new Nicaragua" for the "marginalized and exploited Indian people." Few Indians supported Somoza, many looked forward to a change, others were more cautious with a wait-and-see attitude. Within days of the July 19, 1979, victory, Sandinista representatives flew to the coast, soon after small groups visited various villages to say that Nicaragua was now free, there would be plenty of food and work, and to urge the people to support the new government. A MISURASATA leader lamented: "The Sandinistas spoke in the name of the people, for the poor, for the miserable, for the marginalized, for the exploited, for the humble. That was us. They were the vanguard of the people. The people now ruled Nicaragua. In the name of the people they took power. But after two months there was none of this people stuff. They were the government."

**"Tropa Cruce" Resistance**

Distrustful and unfamiliar with the east coast peoples, the Sandinistas confiscated hunting rifles and shotguns and included few Indians in the newly forming militias. Sandinista and Cuban personnel took control of all government positions. This sparked the first east coast demonstration by displaced Creoles in Bluefields in October 1980. It was broken up by 800 Sandinista soldiers who left three demonstrators dead, eight wounded, with many Creole leaders fleeing to Costa Rica for asylum.

Indians saw themselves as a distinct people and culture whose primary allegiance was to their families, communal villages, and homelands. The Sandinistas interpreted the Indians as an exploited class that should identify with campesinos and give their primary allegiance to the revolution. The Indians were considered to be "politically and culturally backward" as the result of discrimination, racism, exploitation, and capitalism that had produced marginalized, dependent "ethnic groups." They were to be brought into the revolution as "New Indians" through participation in state-formed and controlled mass organizations and programs that were to transform all of Nicaraguan society.

To do this, Indian land, identity, economy, society, and leadership were to be transferred to state interests through the revolution. The subsequent Indian rebellion was not the result of "errors and mistakes" committed by the overenthusiastic Sandinistas, but because of fundamental, contradictory interests between the Sandinista state and Indian peoples. The state tried to adapt the Indians to the revolution, not the revolution to the Indians.

In Indian communal life, every economic activity and exchange has a social context, and every family and marriage relationship is reinforced by the obligatory exchange of goods and labor. Under the Sandinistas, state control of land, resources, and production has prevented this kinship-based system from working, tearing to

# *GRINGO PRESS BOTCHES STORY*

News coverage of the Nicaraguan Indians has focused on three principal stories: Indian *contras,* the Bishop is dead, and the forced relocation of the Río Coco Miskito in early 1982. The Indian resistance has been lumped under the *contra* rubric by some of the press who totally accept the politically charged language of the Sandinistas. Essential information is left out, as if someone wrote a story headlined, "Citizens Fight Police in Mississippi," rather than "Blacks Fight Police in Mississippi." If the term "Indians" is used, it is usually prefaced by "disaffected" and "U.S.- and CIA-backed." I wonder if the press called the Minutemen "French-backed disaffected colonists" during the American Revolution.

In December 1983, the presence of an American Bishop, Salvador Schlaefer, in a MISURA-led rescue of 1,300 Indians from the Francia Sirpi relocation camp, made headlines around the world after the Sandinistas said he had been killed by "*contras.*" That the Bishop hadn't been killed didn't kill the story because he was then widely depicted as the good shepherd leading his flock to safety, a modern-day Moses. (Americans don't lead Indians in the forest.) When 2,200 Indians fled from Nina Yari and Kahka villages to Honduras from March 29 to April 1, 1984, hardly a word was written. No American bishop, dead or alive. Just Indians.

In early 1982 the Sandinistas forcibly relocated some 10,000 Indians from the Río Coco and destroyed 43 villages (villages destroyed soon numbered 65) under the pretext of protecting them from *"contra"* attacks. Since that catastrophic event—which destroyed almost all vestiges of Indian hope or support for the regime—much of the continuing press coverage (and that of some human rights organizations) has been narrowly directed at whether the Indians were relocated against their will, how they were treated enroute, and how they've been treated in the five "Tasba Pri" (Free Land) relocation camps. There has been virtually no mention of the forcible relocation of several thousand other Miskitos from villages (immediately destroyed) far from the contested border region: They were sent to other "relocation camps" in Sisin, Francia Sirpi, Sangnilaya, Wiwili, and to Puerto Cabezas, and Bluefields as part of a continuing policy to concentrate Indians in Sandinista-controlled areas. And the press has almost exclusively dealt with the Miskito, ignoring the Sumo who were also forcibly relocated and half of their villages destroyed.

Indigenous peoples are expected to suffer calamities and to be exploited and that is newsworthy. Indigenous peoples are not expected to have their own political policies and goals and military capacity. The Fourth World has no Fourth Estate.

**B.N.**



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shreds Indian society and economy. A Miskito who worked with the FSLN and is now in the resistance recalled, "We looked up and saw that we had fallen into their hands."

Two events accelerated the Indians' resentment: the transfer of land to the state (August 1980 and August 1981) and the mass arrests of Indian leaders for "contradictory political development" (February 18–20, 1981). Two other occurrences began and widened the resistance: Sandinista soldiers broke into a Moravian church service honoring Indian literacy campaign workers *(brigadistas)* at Prinsapolka to arrest a MISURASATA leader (February 20, 1981). The Indians rose up barehanded to defend him, resulting in four dead on each side. Many of the Indians, with recovered weapons, sought sanctuary in the forest and eventually in Honduras; and the early 1982 FSLN-forced relocation of the Río Coco indigenous population into internment camps.

The former *brigadistas* returned to Nicaragua as part of an unarmed, all-Indian, 66-person group, the now legendary *"Tropa Cruce"* (Crucifix Troop). From November 1981 through January 1982 they struck at Sandinista patrols and garrisons along the Río Coco from San Carlos to Raiti, taking arms. They shot down a military helicopter, took and held the garrison at San Carlos for three days, and were widely supported by the Indian civilian population (some of whom were the parents and relatives of the young men and women in the "Tropa Cruce"). Although the battles were widespread and small scale, the Sandinistas believed they had an insurrection on their hands and decided to relocate the entire Río Coco Miskito and Sumo populations—10,000 people—under the pretext of protecting the Indian people against *"contra"* attacks.

Unable to locate or defeat any of the warrior forces operating in Indian territory, the Sandinistas concentrated on the villages: 65 have been destroyed; others have been terrorized by invasions of several hundred soldiers. At Walpasiksa on September 13, 1982, 37 civilians were arrested as "counterrevolutionaries." Seven others were killed, all livestock (pigs, horses, cows, chickens) were machine-gunned, and household and personal belongings were stolen. Repression against civilians to control a dependent Indian guerrilla force backfired: More and more civilians joined the resistance, trained in Indian camps inside Nicaragua, and thousands are now ready to take up arms.

### Resolute Warriors

Sandinista counterinsurgency and military programs against Indian peoples have not worked. The Indians will fight on, regardless of what their allies do, regardless of political solutions that deny their autonomy in land and resources, regardless of any cutoff of indirect U.S. support. In the midst of this, the second Nicaraguan war, Indians discuss and plan for what may be a third war, Indians vs. non-Indians, Indian eastern Nicaragua vs. non-Indian western Nicaragua. Without resolution of the Indian land war there will be no peace in Nicaragua.

Around the world, indigenous peoples are struggling against their national governments, from the Naga in Assam, to the Kalinga in the Philippines, to the Kurds in Syria, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey, and the East Timorese, Papuans, and Mollucans in Indonesia. And various resistance movements are fighting foreign intrusion such as the POLISARIO against Moroccan forces in Western Sahara, Moslem groups against the Soviets in Afghanistan, and SWAPO against South African troops in Namibia. Other indigenous guerrilla uprisings are being waged against Cuban and Soviet-backed Marxist governments in Ethiopia, Angola, and Nicaragua.

**A Miskito civilian who was arrested by Sandinista Security for being a "counterrevolutionary" but later released due to insufficient evidence after spending 11 months in jail.**

Aboriginal Australians have reclaimed rights to some of their traditional lands and are attempting to establish a treaty with the government that would include: the protection of Aboriginal identity, languages, law, and culture; the recognition and restoration of rights to land; determination of mining and exploitation of other natural resources on Aboriginal land; compensation to Aboriginal Australians for the loss of traditional lands; and the right of Aboriginal Australians to control their own affairs and to establish their own associations for this purpose. These goals are very similar to what the Miskito, Sumo, and Rama are struggling for in Nicaragua.

Fourth World peoples in many areas of the world are politically and militarily resisting the imposition of the state over their indigenous territories, peoples, and nations. Many have won autonomy, including the San Blas Cuna (Panama), Naga (Nagaland, Assam), and the Inuit (Greenland). In Nicaragua, the indigenous movement for autonomy continues. Warriors inside Nicaragua told me "autonomy, our land, that's why the Indian people are getting into this war."



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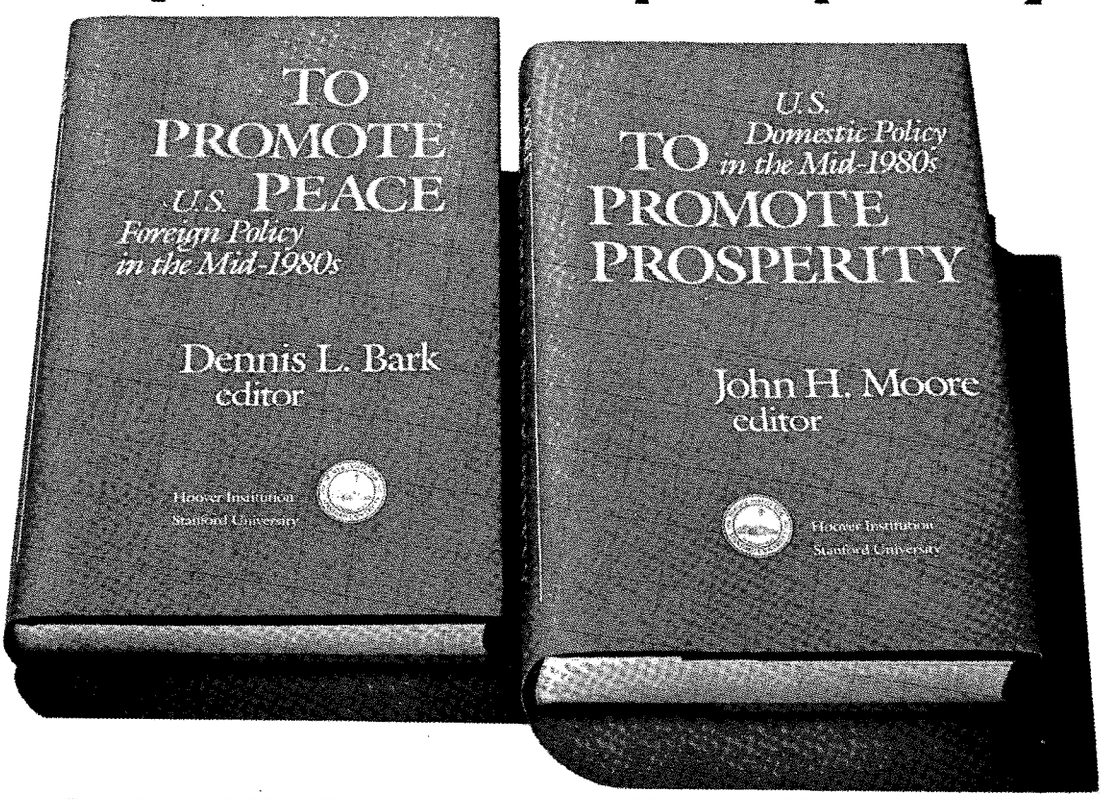


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# Better Off Than Four Years Ago?

## *Yes, in Three Important Ways*

Adam Meyerson

Are we Americans better off than we were four years ago? In 1980 voters said no, and elected Ronald Reagan. The answer in 1984 is yes, in three important ways.

The first is the rebirth of hope among middle-class families, and poor families that want to work their way into the middle class. Ordinary Americans now have greater confidence that, through their own efforts, they can build a better life for themselves and their children. And the reason for this is very simple: The demoralizing decline in take-home pay has come to an end.

From 1976 to 1980, the average weekly earnings of American workers fell from $186.85 to $172.74, using constant 1977 dollars in order to adjust for inflation. And this was *before* taxes. The average American's paycheck shriveled even further when rising Social Security taxes were subtracted, and when inflation of 12 to 13 percent pushed him into even higher income tax brackets. No wonder President Carter summed up the national mood as "malaise." Nothing could be so frustrating to family aspirations as the thought that, even after getting a raise, mom or dad had less to bring home in real purchasing power than the year before.

Today inflation has been tamed, at least for the time being, and we are in the midst of an economic boom that has taken almost the entire forecasting profession by surprise. For ordinary Americans, the constant frustration is over. Average pretax earnings, which continued to slide to $167.87 per week in 1982 (again using 1977 dollars), rose above $173 by late 1983—just slightly higher than the figure for 1980. More important, President Reagan has insisted on holding the line on income taxes, thus protecting the pay that workers can actually take home.

This is no consolation for the still-too-many unemployed. But for the 105.3 million civilians with jobs, compared with 99.3 million in 1980, earning a living is no longer a losing battle. Faith in opportunities for family advancement—the single most powerful engine of economic growth throughout American history—is beginning to revive.

The signs of optimism are unmistakable. New business incorporations, up from 533,520 in 1980 to 600,400 in 1983, are at an all-time high. No one talks about "malaise" any more. In November 1979, according to polls cited in *Public Opinion* magazine, Americans rated the U.S. as better off five years before, and predicted it would be even worse off five years later. Asked the same questions in November 1983, our countrymen judged the present superior to the past, with the future still more rosy.

The revival of confidence has been strongest among young people who, not surprisingly, give President Reagan his most enthusiastic support. A set of four Gallup surveys from January to March 1984, for instance, showed that Mr. Reagan's approval ratings are highest among voters aged 18 to 29, followed by 30-to-49-year olds—precisely those whose hopes for the future were most jeopardized by the steady erosion of take-home pay in the 1970s. For all the talk by Democratic candidates about a "new generation," could it be that the 73-year-old in the White House understands the aspirations of youth best of all?

### Public Safety

The second improvement over the last four years is the spectacular decline in deaths from traffic accidents. Indeed the lessening carnage on our highways is one of the most remarkable advances in public safety during the past generation.

From 1980 to 1983, the number of highway fatalities fell from 51,091 to a preliminary estimate of 42,500—the lowest level since 1963. This is not because people are driving less as the result of recession or high oil prices; on the contrary, Federal Highway Administration statistics for vehicle-miles in 1983 (1.65 trillion) were the highest ever.

Nor is it because of the 55-mile-per-hour speed limit, which is enforced less today than when it was enacted in the mid-1970s. The decline is in part a demographic phenomenon: With the aging of the baby boomers, fewer reckless teenagers now terrorize the roads. But it is due mostly to President Reagan's regulatory style, with its

ADAM MEYERSON *is editor of* Policy Review.



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strong emphasis on private initiatives by citizen groups, on deference to state and local governments, and on simple common sense.

Under the Reagan administration, traffic safety regulation has focused on two overriding aims: Curbing drunkenness on the road, which accounts for about half of all accidents; and boosting seat belt use. The president appointed a national commission on drunk driving, and publicized campaigns by citizen groups such as Mothers Against Drunk Driving. The vast majority of states have strengthened their laws against driving under the influence and tightened enforcement. Seat belt use, meanwhile, has risen from 9 percent to a still-too-low 15 percent.

In the Carter administration, by contrast, regulation in this area was dominated by Naderites such as National Highway Traffic Safety Administrator Joan Claybrook. Their primary emphasis was on bashing the auto companies—for example, through highly publicized car recalls, and through trying to mandate expensive design changes such as airbags. It was no accident—pardon the expression—that the Carter-Nader approach was less effective than President Reagan's. From 1976 to 1980, the number of highway fatalities tragically rose from 45,523 to 51,091, compared with the 17 percent decline under Reagan.

The recent victories in traffic safety have been virtually unnoticed by the prestige press and network news shows. They like to concentrate their attention on *potential* dangers from nuclear power, dioxin, or EDB, meanwhile giving short shrift to very real *existing* dangers such as crime and traffic accidents, which menace the health and safety of ordinary Americans every day.

Crime, incidentally, is also down under the Reagan administration. The number of murders, forcible rapes, robberies, aggravated assaults, burglaries, larcenies, and motor vehicle thefts, up from 11.3 million in 1976 to 13.3 million in 1980, fell to 12 million in 1983. Murders per 100,000 people, up from 8.8 in 1976 to 10.2 in 1980, fell to 9.1 in 1982; the same figure for forcible rape rose from 26.4 in 1976 to 36.4 in 1980, and was back down to 32.6 in 1982. This turnaround in the United States was achieved despite the recession of 1982, disproving yet again the foolish notion that poverty and economic trouble are the cause of crime.

**Safer for Democracy**

Similarly, workplace-related accidents and injuries fell from 8.7 per 100 workers in 1980 to 7.7 in 1982. Workdays lost as the result of occupational injury and illness rose from 60.5 per 100 workers in 1976 to 65.2 in 1980, and were back down to 58.7 in 1982—refuting all those horror stories about how the Reagan administration was dismantling the Occupational Safety and Health Administration. Press coverage during this period was typified by a *New York Times Magazine* headline last year: "The rush to deregulate: Government is unraveling an entire skein of health and safety protections." Measured by results, rather than by the number and complexity of government regulations, public safety has markedly improved.

Compared with four years ago, the world has also become a safer place for those values Americans most cherish: freedom and democracy. Since 1980, democracy has replaced authoritarianism in Argentina, Bolivia, El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama, with Uruguay apparently on the way; Egypt, the Philippines, and Turkey have held elections, however imperfect; and Grenada has been rescued from the closing jaws of totalitarianism. Only three democracies, all outside the principal sphere of U.S. influence, have given way to authoritarian or military rule: Bangladesh, Nigeria, and Zimbabwe. The advance of democracy in sovereign and independent nations should not, of course, be attributed solely to U.S. action, although in several instances it has been actively promoted by American pressure. But if the Reagan human rights record is judged by results, rather than by the noise level of administration pronouncements, it would have to be judged very successful indeed.

Democracy and freedom have also been protected from their greatest single threat: the march of Soviet jackboots. From 1974 through 1979, nine countries were forcibly taken over by Communists allied with Soviet power: South Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua, and Grenada. Since 1980, not a single country has fallen to the Communists, and for the first time since Austria in 1955, Soviet power has actually been pushed back. The liberation of Grenada repealed the Brezhnev Doctrine that no nation ever leaves the Soviet camp; indeed, on the same day that American troops landed, Surinam expelled its Cuban advisers, thwarting a likely Communist takeover. Now Mozambique, having recently made peace with South Africa, might be pulled from the Soviet orbit.

All of which has led to an extraordinary change in perceptions of the inevitable "forces of history." American foreign policy has been paralyzed in recent years by fear that the United States and its allies were on the losing side. Time was said to be on the side of "progressive" nationalistic forces, and the best we could hope for was to reach an accommodation with them. Therefore Congress and much of the foreign policy establishment have been reluctant to give aid to democrats in Angola or Nicaragua or El Salvador, lest we antagonize the inevitable victors.

The United States is slowly moving out of this paralysis. It is common for critics of Mr. Reagan to say that U.S.-Soviet relations are at their lowest ebb in 20 years. The truth is that the Soviets, after a string of easy victories in the 1970s, are peeved to find themselves on the ideological and geopolitical defensive. They have failed in their campaign to separate Western European democracies from the United States. They have failed to stop the Western alliance from beginning to rectify its military and strategic weaknesses. And they face an America increasingly confident that its values of democracy and freedom are worth defending. There are dangers, of course, in Soviet uneasiness, but there would have been far more troubling dangers if the Soviet military advance were to have gone unchallenged. In a world of freedom-hating bullies, democratic peoples everywhere are safer when America rebuilds its strength. ☎



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# Paths to Victory

## *How Conservatives Win in Liberal Districts*

**Dinesh D'Souza**

The Broadway play *Evita* has Juan Peron expressing his disdain for democracy because of "the inconvenience of trying to get a majority." Many conservatives in this country have similar misgivings about the electoral system. Not that they don't expect their values to be approved by most Americans. But they are impatient with the *process* of getting their programs ratified. "Conservatives often refuse to take their ideas to the people," says Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY). "They seem to distrust the engines of democracy."

By contrast, liberals are consummate politicians. Not only are they adept at winning decisively in Democratic districts, but in many cases, they get elected by traditionally conservative constituencies. Examples of left-wing politicians in right-wing districts: Representatives Thomas Downey and Robert Mrazek in New York, Robert Edgar in Pennsylvania, Norman D'Amours in New Hampshire, Michael Andrews in Texas, Jim Olin in Virginia, and Senators Dennis DeConcini in Arizona and Gary Hart in Colorado.

Not as many as there used to be. In 1980, the National Conservative Political Action Committee, Moral Majority, and other grass-roots groups powerfully juxtaposed the Washington voting records of liberal politicians with their campaign rhetoric at home. As a result, Senators McGovern, Culver, and Bayh now make speeches for a living. Still, as columnist Jack Kilpatrick comments, "You have probably ten liberals in a putatively conservative district for every one conservative in a liberal district."

How to change this? Perhaps some strategies can be learned from five conservatives—two senators and three congressmen—who have won elections in liberal Democratic areas. They are: Representative Newt Gingrich (Georgia 6th District), Representative Jack Kemp (New York 31st District), Senator Rudy Boschwitz (Minnesota), Representative Chris Smith (New Jersey 4th District), and Senator Paula Hawkins (Florida).

### Gingrich at the Gates

Georgia is a Democratic state. In 1980, homespun Jimmy Carter beat Ronald Reagan here, 56 to 41 percent. Georgia has one Republican and one Democratic senator, but its governor and nine out of ten congressmen are Democrats. Mr. Gingrich's Sixth District is even more Democratic than the state as a whole. It falls just south of the more conservative DeKalb County, encompassing the increasingly black suburbs of College Park and Hapeville. Clayton County, the largest in the district, contains a mixture of lower-middle-class workers and professionals who work at nearby Atlanta Airport. "The habit here is to elect Democrats to Congress," says Rick Allen, political editor of the *Atlanta Journal.*

But hardy Democrats. This isn't limousine liberal country. Most of the people still attend church on Sunday and their kids don't take drugs. Robert Weed, a long-time Gingrich strategist, describes the district thus: "Our people are blue collar, traditional Democrats. They have worked hard for what little they have, and want it protected from expropriation. For the last 10 years, they have seen America slipping through their fingers. They have a vague sense that the rules of the game are changing—that work no longer brings its reward, that you get simply by grabbing."

Republicans were for a long time unable to turn these currents of cultural conservatism into political electricity. Since 1954, the Sixth District was represented by John Flynt, a Dixiecrat described as "the caricature of the Southern Congressman." When Newt Gingrich opposed Mr. Flynt in 1974, his candidacy was viewed with chagrin by Republicans and amusement by Democrats. After all, Mr. Gingrich was a former professor of history and environmental studies at West Georgia College, a transplanted Yankee from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and a man of few means and an improbable name.

But he ran an unorthodox campaign, which captured voter attention. He alleged that "Washington is a conspiracy to take away the money and freedom of the citizens of this country" and portrayed Mr. Flynt as distant from local aspirations. He called for a "future-oriented conservatism" and spurned those in his party

DINESH D'SOUZA *is editor-in-chief of* Prospect *magazine at Princeton University.*



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who were "frozen in reaction against Franklin Roosevelt." Newt Gingrich was *for* Roosevelt; he wanted to "keep the New Deal but dismantle the Great Society." And for one reason: Johnson's programs destroyed incentive for the poor and unemployed, by subsidizing the unproductive. Mr. Gingrich outlined his vision for a "conservative opportunity society" in which the most indigent would be sheltered, but the gates to freedom, economic opportunity, and progress would be flung open wide.

It was a heroic effort, but Mr. Gingrich lost narrowly to John Flynt. His turn came in 1978, when Mr. Flynt retired and the Democratic nomination went to Virginia Shappard, a former state senator. In September, polls had Mr. Gingrich trailing by 36 to 50 percent, 30 to 70 percent among women. But in the last weeks, Newt Gingrich hit upon a brilliant strategy. He played down his own positions on issues, instead ridiculing Ms. Shappard for her previous role as a welfare official and cataloging cases of fraud in social programs. Mr. Gingrich was portrayed in his commercials not as a doctrinaire right-winger but as a local hero, a folk personality who would stand up for decency and rural level-headedness in Washington. The other side was presented as elitist. A Gingrich ad showed good old Newt eating a peanut butter sandwich outside a $50 per plate Shappard dinner with Rosalynn Carter. When the ballots were counted, Mr. Gingrich had won.

During his first term, he stressed constituency service, opening four district offices. Diligent representation was his campaign theme in 1980. He also amplified the themes candidate Reagan outlined, but in terms congenial to his constituency. "I talked about tax cuts not for corporations but for the little guy to save and invest. And spending cuts not to hurt the poor but to eliminate waste and return to taxpayers money Washington had seized from them. And traditional values like hard work, family, integrity." Yet Mr. Gingrich made no attempt to accommodate to his district's views on all issues. He spoke out eloquently against abortion, for instance, even though polls had most of his constituency disagreeing with him. His strategy was to create an *overall image* of standing up for the people, and yet being willing to lead on some issues. It worked: He walloped Democrat Dock Davis 59 to 41 percent.

Mr. Gingrich didn't cling to Ronald Reagan in the recession year of 1982. Instead, he implied that the president was insufficiently devoted to his own promises of 1980 and projected himself as a New Right leader helping Reagan be Reagan. He also resurrected a theme he had first used in 1974: military reform. He advanced outlandish proposals such as the one calling for the government to offer a prize of $500,000 for anyone who could invent a weapon that could pierce the armor of a Russian tank. Mr. Gingrich did not specifically favor small defense systems over large ones, only more efficient systems over boondoggles. This military reform theme endeared Mr. Gingrich to Democrats suspicious about unchecked and undiscriminating defense expenditures. His victory margin wasn't as large in 1982, but it was substantial enough so that now, as Rick Allen says, "The Democrats are tired of running against Newt." Mr. Gingrich is expected to trounce his opponent, State Representative Gerald Johnson from Carrollton, in November this year.

**Representative Newt Gingrich (R-GA): Visionary of a "conservative opportunity society" that would replace the "liberal welfare state."**

### Kemp's Ladder

New York has a formidable Democratic Party machine, but its upstate voters tend to be prosperous Republicans. Jack Kemp's 31st District is an exception. Buffalo and its suburbs are heavily industrial and often produce higher Democratic proportions than New York City. The voting pattern of Mr. Kemp's district is neither ritualistically liberal, like the City, nor conventionally Republican, like the suburbs; rather, it resembles that of cities like Cleveland or Detroit. The heavily ethnic population—mostly Polish, Italian, and black—tends to vote according to its checkbook, not according to the *New York Times* or the local preacher.

Jack Kemp first won in 1970 when the incumbent Democrat, Max McCarthy, ran unsuccessfully for the Senate, and then split his own party's vote by running as an independent in the House race. Mr. Kemp was a known conservative, having worked on Mr. Reagan's 1968 presidential campaign, but he did not win on the issues. Rather, he drew electoral accolade for the passes he had thrown for the Buffalo Bills. Once in office, Mr. Kemp faced the challenge of political self-definition. He developed his own "people's conservatism," synthesizing ethnic populism with embryonic concepts he had picked up from Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman. This new philosophy bypassed squabbles over sharing the public purse and emphasized the creation of wealth.

Mr. Kemp intrepidly told his district that he wouldn't vote for more spending programs, even locally beneficial ones, until he had helped enlarge the economic pie. These deferred promises can be politically ruinous, but Mr.



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Kemp stressed that he was not, in principle, opposed to welfare spending: In fact, he wanted economic growth so *more* social causes could be subsidized. Also he employed the rhetoric of compassion to defend his "supply side" economics. "I talk about capitalism with a big heart," Mr. Kemp told *Policy Review*. "I don't let liberals monopolize the issue of caring. Also I try and frame my issues in blue-collar terms. Most conservatives talk about numbers. I talk about jobs. Many conservatives talk about corporate profits. I talk about incentive. My main point is that progress and growth do not mean the poor get poorer, or the workers suffer. Labor and capital are not opposed; they are related."

Jack Kemp has developed the concept of "urban enterprise zones," which proposes government subsidies not for slothful workers and poverty-stricken businesses but for energetic workers and successful enterprises. He tells black voters in Buffalo, "I want a tax structure that helps the poor to get rich. I want a safety net through which no one can fall, and a ladder up which everyone can climb." They believe him. Mr. Kemp has been endorsed by local minority organizations including the NAACP. He is popular with minority groups and union members despite opposition from some of their leaders.

George Borelli, a reporter with the *Buffalo News,* attributes this to Mr. Kemp's ability to project an image of genuine concern about people's everyday needs. "People may not agree with his views, but they are convinced that he represents their interests," Mr. Borelli says. "In the time of the recession, his popularity was not affected at all, even though Buffalo was one of the worst hit areas." People endured the Republican party through intervals of high unemployment because they accepted Jack Kemp's view of the GOP as "the party not of the country club or the corporate board room, but of the street corner, the small entrepreneur, and the working guy."

No opponent has come close to unseating Mr. Kemp in six reelection bids, and he wins by staggering percentages—he won 75 percent of the vote against Democrat James Martin in the last election. The Democratic party must therefore twist arms now to get people to run against Jack Kemp: It means almost-assured humiliation. Mr. Kemp's margins of victory also suggest that he has liberated himself, to some extent, from the push-and-pull of public opinion in his district. He can take controversial positions against the nuclear freeze, for the MX missile, for nerve gas, and against protectionist legislation. A rare privilege for a politician, he is essentially his own man.

### Boschwitz Plies His Personality

When Rudy Boschwitz was working his way to a small fortune in the plywood business, Walter Mondale occupied the Minnesota Senate seat that Mr. Boschwitz would eventually contest. Mr. Boschwitz shared the television screen with Mr. Mondale those days, but he paid for his time: He was known around the state for his plywood commercials, which featured him wearing an open plaid shirt and colloquially praising the virtues of trees. When Mr. Mondale vacated his Senate seat to become vice president in 1976, Democratic Governor Wendell Anderson immodestly named himself to the post. Two years later Mr. Boschwitz was able to capitalize on public resentment against Mr. Anderson and get himself elected senator.

Few expected him to do it. There was obvious irritation at Mr. Anderson's power-grab out there, but what was not obvious was how to convert this into votes. Mr. Anderson, after all, was in the strong Democratic Farm Labor (DFL) party voting tradition; he reflected the pulse of the Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans who first emigrated to Minnesota and cultivated passionate, progressive politics. The DFL party has dominated Minnesota elections since the 1930s; it's as though the anger of the Depression never melted in the frigid North. In 1972, Minnesota was the second most Democratic state, after Massachusetts. Jimmy Carter beat Ronald Reagan 47 to 43 percent in 1980, and five of the state's eight congressmen are DFL members. The Republican party in the state calls itself Independent Republican (IR) to suggest separation from the national apparatus; its members also vote considerably to the left of other Republicans, as a price for staying in office.

Mr. Boschwitz powerfully appealed to the independence and cultural conservatism of the state in 1978. This seems ironic; the *National Journal* gives him only a 35 percent conservative rating on social issues. (His defense rating is 88 percent, and his economic rating 68 percent.) But the people of Minnesota were drawn to Mr. Boschwitz's personal image, which was down-home, open collar, anti-elitist. He never gave up his plywood-commercial image. Like plywood, he could bend without breaking; he was willing to accommodate the views of his constituents, and occasionally resist the national wing of his party. For example, he vociferously opposed nuclear power, which brought him plaudits in Minnesota but charges of eccentricity in Washington. He supported the

**Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY) defends his "supply side" economics with the rhetoric of compassion. "I talk about capitalism with a big heart, I don't let liberals monopolize the issue of caring . . . Most conservatives talk about numbers. I talk about jobs."**

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Legal Services Corporation at a time when conservatives called it anathema. He was against banning busing. Yet, on other issues, he showed independence even of his constituency. He was unequivocally against abortion, for example. His people interpreted this occasional deviation as a sign of his principled voting, his character. In 1978, Mr. Boschwitz engineered a subtle and peculiar psychological phenomenon: The people of Minnesota wanted to demonstrate their *own* independence of character by voting for him. He was the wild card, the renegade. He won in 1978 with 57 percent of the vote.

In 1984, he will most likely be faced by a wealthy and powerful Democrat, Mark Dayton, who ran surprisingly well in 1982 against Minnesota's other senator, David Durenberger. Mr. Dayton lavished $7 million of his own money into his campaign, which forced the incumbent Mr. Durenberger to scramble and raise $2 million. Mr. Dayton ran with every leftist issue he could grab—from income redistribution to disarmament to homosexual rights—and gained votes because of it. He won big in economically distressed Duluth and the Iron Range, but lost in rural Catholic areas (Mr. Durenberger is Catholic and prolife) and in the Twin Cities. Rudy Boschwitz will have trouble butting against Mr. Dayton's popular progressivism but if he can define his own agenda, he can win. He is already setting up to run on the issue of military reform; recently, he introduced, with Mark Andrews (R-ND), Charles Grassley (R-IA), and Ted Kennedy (D-MA), legislation that would force the Defense Department to open bids for contracts to small businesses. "The day of the $500 clawhammer or the $440 plastic knob will soon be a thing of the past," Mr. Boschwitz predicts. The issue italicizes his independence of the defense establishment; also, it tempts Mr. Dayton into a reactionary position of opposing even a lean defense budget. Mr. Boschwitz has also placed himself on the Agriculture Committee of the Senate, where he can perform for the farming industry which governs the economy of Minnesota. "This is one issue on which the state isn't independent minded," says a columnist for the *Minneapolis Tribune.*

### Smith Shakes up Voters

Chris Smith was only 27 in 1980 when he defeated incumbent Frank Thompson, who had represented New Jersey's Fourth District for almost three decades and was considered part of the landscape. Chris Smith had been creamed by Mr. Thompson, once before, in 1978. Nobody blinked: The district is three-to-one Democratic with a 15 percent minority population, and Mr. Thompson was an extremely personable politician. In the interim, Mr. Thompson had been caught in the Abscam caper. But he was not yet convicted at the time of the 1980 election, and many of his bases of support endured. Chris Smith had lucked out, but not enough to land him in Washington. That he managed by what his campaign strategist calls "one-on-one visitation."

The strategy was simple: Mr. Smith planned to shake the hand of every person whose vote he expected to get. Jim Goodman, political writer for the *Trenton Times,* traveled with him. "He drove around in his beat up old car which broke down every 20 miles," Mr. Goodman remembers. "But he wouldn't stop. He must have knocked on every damn door in the district." Analysts also suspect that people may have voted for Mr. Smith because they felt sorry for him. He had a small-time sporting goods business and was New Jersey executive director of the Right to Life group. His net worth was estimated at $15,000. When Smith won, Democratic bosses in New Jersey shook their heads. They would unemploy this carrot-faced kid in 1982.

**Senator Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN) was known around the state for his plywood commercials, which featured him wearing an open plaid shirt and colloquially praising the virtues of trees.**

So they redistricted, pumping more Democrats into Mr. Smith's district. And they pitted him against Joseph Merlino, former state senate president and long-time Trenton politico. It used to be that Merlino had only to put himself on the ticket to win elections. But this time he was overconfident. And he faced a second campaign juggernaut from incumbent Mr. Smith, who made whirlwind tours through his district, echoing the theme, "One good term deserves another." Chris Smith pointed out to his people that he had returned home from Washington every single weekend to serve local needs, speak at Rotary and womens' clubs, or simply mingle with his constituents. He argued that his lack of important committee assignments in Washington, usually considered a liability, was actually something he had worked for, to enable himself to devote time to his district. He deftly used his right-to-life position to split the Catholic vote in such Merlino bases as Trenton and Mercer counties. He also contrasted his unspoiled youthful image with the caricature of Mr. Merlino as a cigar-chomping, backroom politician. When the votes were tabulated in 1982, Chris Smith had accomplished what local politicians regard as a minor miracle: In a heavily blue-collar, ethnic, and minority district he had defeated the Democratic party stalwart with 53 percent of the vote. Only six months earlier the *American Political Report* had rated him the "most vulnerable incumbent in the country."



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It goes without saying that Mr. Smith will not be underestimated in 1984. This time he's running almost entirely on constituency service. And he's amassed a formidable record: He has held more than 100 town meetings in the district; he has followed through his concept of one-on-one visitation, meeting individually with constituents; he claims to have provided no less than 6,000 separate services in his four years in office. "I don't care who has a problem, my job is to help them," Mr. Smith says. "I couldn't care less what political party they belong to. My theory is that the people consider me a congressman of all the people." Who can compete against this sort of rhetoric?

Chris Smith is a moderate conservative. He tells his people he goes along with President Reagan 50 to 60 percent of the time. He votes for more education money, Social Security increases, and Medicare; these are services his constituency insists upon. He also supports a nuclear freeze. But he's very conservative on social issues, especially abortion and school prayer. He has worked to loosen Soviet regulations for emigration of Jews, for which he was recently cited by the National Conference on Soviet Jewry. He is also a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee in the House and a strong advocate of veterans' benefits.

Whoever runs against Chris Smith this November, Goodman says, "I don't know a single Democrat who thinks Smith won't win. They only thing that could stop him now is if Reagan became unpopular due to a turn in the economy and if [popular Democratic Senator] Bill Bradley carried a Democratic nominee through." Jim Goodman isn't placing any bets on that one.

### Hawkins & Her Dirty Dozen

Paula Hawkins wasn't even raised in Florida. She moved there from Utah when her Mormon husband Gene relocated his electrical engineering business in Winter Park. She had previously been a department store model and stenographer. But Ms. Hawkins did not feel displaced in Florida. Everybody in the state was, in some way, a newcomer or foreigner. It's a scrappy, catch-as-catch-can rambunctious sort of state, which suited Ms. Hawkins fine because she's a scrappy, catch-as-catch-can sort of woman. Her first political act was to join a band of housewives known as "the dirty dozen" to fight for sewers in her community.

Although Ms. Hawkins served six years as a member of Florida's Public Services Commission (PSC), few expected her to run for the Senate, and probably only she expected to win. But she did, upsetting the popular Democratic nominee Bill Gunter (who defeated incumbent Richard Stone in the primary) to become one of two women, both Republicans, to occupy Senate seats in 1980. "People voted for me because they know I'm feisty, I care, I'll fight for them," Ms. Hawkins told *Policy Review*. "Those are the qualities that people look for today even more than the labels of Democrat and Republican."

Ms. Hawkins was also able to turn the main feature of Florida politics—instability—to her advantage. She promised to stand for tradition and family strength in a

**Representative Chris Smith (R-NJ) knocked on almost every door in his district. "He drove around in his beat up old car which broke down every 20 miles, but he wouldn't stop."**

tumultuous environment that is being demographically changed, polluted with oil-rigs and new industry, and zapped out of its mind by imported drugs. There are all kinds of people in Florida—from Yankee retirees to Southern rednecks to Cuban boat people to rural blacks—and Paula Hawkins held out tidbits for each one. She drew on the ferocious patriotism of the new immigrants with her anticommunist rhetoric. Entrepreneurs liked her free enterprise zeal, and the unemployed were pleased that she opposed President Reagan's benefit cutbacks. She especially allayed the fears of the elderly with her defense of family equilibrium and her opposition to abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment. Yet she refused to abandon the career-woman's vote: Her sponsorship of day care and child support legislation was popular with young to middle-aged females. And of course, everybody could support Ms. Hawkins's declared war on drugs, everybody but the pushers, and only a few of them vote.

Like Chris Smith, Paula Hawkins is no hardline conservative. She gave President Reagan some crucial votes—for a balanced budget amendment, for preventing federal funding of abortion, for banning court-ordered busing, against the Legal Services Corporation. But she also defected on important issues, notably spending programs such as education trimmings and, perhaps understandably, all proposals to reduce benefits to the elderly. Hawkins' critics from the left and the right complain that she is unabashedly and irresponsibly political. "The woman votes for tax cuts, spending increases, and the balanced budget amendment, all at the same time," one journalist put it. "She's not big on consistency."

During the last four years, Ms. Hawkins has focused on two major concerns, which she is certain to make the central issue of her reelection bid: drug enforcement and missing children. She successfully proposed the Missing Children Act in 1982, which established a national clearinghouse of information to help parents and police find missing children. Her Hawkins Amendment linking for-



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eign aid to drug eradication passed the Senate 96 to zero in November 1983. When she discovered that the depressant drug methaqualone being smuggled into Florida was being produced by the People's Republic of China, she dashed off a letter to Premier Deng Xiaoping; shortly thereafter, production of the drug dropped substantially. It is this zesty personal style that has endeared Paula Hawkins to her constituents, even if occasionally she bungles a big one, such as the time she held a steak dinner to explain to the press her decision to support cuts in the food stamp program.

All five of these conservative winners show a remarkable sensitivity to the special character of their constituencies. They realize, as de Tocqueville wrote, "The people reign in the American political world as the Deity does in the universe. They are the cause and aim of all things; everything comes from them, and everything is absorbed in them." They have developed instincts that are barometers of popular sentiment. "The bottom line is populism," says Merrick Carey, press representative for Jack Kemp. "If you are willing to let people know that you are willing to trust them to make their own decisions and run their own lives, you win elections." The problem, Mr. Carey says, is that "elitism invades our party."

Our five do not interpret populism to mean that they should be, on all questions, subservient to the prevalent public urge. In fact, three of them—Representatives Gingrich and Kemp, and Senator Hawkins—have shown an ability to define their own issues and persuade their constituents; this positive tension between a politician and his people goes by the name of "leadership." Elusive though the concept may be (like pornography, you know it when you see it), leadership is probably the single most consequential factor determining election outcomes.

### Simple and Sincere

Newt Gingrich and Jack Kemp have had great success in portraying themselves as what they are: national leaders of the "new conservatism." Voters in Buffalo admit that, in many cases, they do not understand the particulars of Mr. Kemp's supply-side theorems. But they cannot mistake the aura of confidence and flamboyance, and, yes, caring, that Jack Kemp projects, even while discussing the most arcane budget proposal. Mr. Gingrich projects foresight and leadership on the issue of the space program. He speaks enthusiastically about such wild possibilities as putting handicapped people into space to relieve them of ambulatory difficulties. What benefit does a space program have to the folks back in Georgia? None, except that space research appeals to people who work at Atlanta's airport and helps the commercial airline industry make technological advances. But Newt Gingrich is a political success because he isn't too much of a politician. His space longings fulfill a deeper impulse in the man. He is a frontiersman who has run out of earthly frontiers. His people understand that.

Winning candidates generally have a talent for *communicating* their vision for society—not just intellectually, but also emotionally. Irving Kristol has lamented the inability of conservatives to communicate the advantages of their programs, especially to groups outside the

**Senator Paula Hawkins (R-FL): "People voted for me because they know I'm feisty, I care, I'll fight for them."**

Republican party: minorities, blue-collar Democrats, the poor. Not only is conservative rhetoric parochial, but it is also often antiseptic. Until recently, it mumbled about incomprehensible issues like the deficit instead of making a passionate appeal to the public. The historical evidence for the success of an emotional politics goes back to the trial of Socrates in Athens, when he was advised to present "pitiful appeals with floods of tears, with infant children produced in court to excite the maximum sympathy from the jurors." Socrates rejected this counsel, a political blunder, since the people then voted the death penalty.

Another characteristic of successful politicians is their ability to set the election agenda, not just in terms favorable to themselves, but also in the vocabulary of the vast majority of their voters—Republican and Democrat. Mr. Kemp is probably best at this. He tells voters, "The issue is not rich versus poor, capital versus labor, black versus white, consumer versus producer, or conservative versus liberal. The issue is restoring the American Dream, getting this country moving again—not just for some, but for all." Mr. Kemp feels, with some justification, that "conservative rhetoric has tended to be exclusive rather than inclusive." Too often it concedes the interests of the poor and the working class to liberals. Robert Weed, Gingrich strategist, advises that "the way for conservatives to win elections is to present liberalism as an alliance between certain elements of the rich and certain elements of the poor against the average American."

Norman Ornstein, professor of politics at Catholic University and a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, believes that "there are certain areas in the country where ideology matters." For example, it would be virtually impossible for a Democrat to lose certain districts in New York City, just as several upstate districts are securely Republican. But for the most part, Mr. Ornstein believes that "most people just aren't that ideological." More important than the issues, in many cases, is a "relationship of trust," which a politician builds with his people.

And in a sense this trust frees the politician from his



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constituency because his people feel that whatever projects he pursues will be in their interest. How to cultivate trust? There's no easy formula. Projecting sincerity, integrity, simple tastes, and in some cases (Mr. Smith, Mr. Boschwitz, Ms. Hawkins) independence of party apparatus and narrow ideologies—all may help.

Stuart Rothenberg, a political scientist and author of several studies of voting behavior, says conservative candidates must learn to be realistic about politics. In some cases, he says, "They many have to go with their constituents instead of their ideology. I'm not saying they should be unprincipled. I'm saying they should remember who elected them. It's important for conservatives to be reelected, so they can work for their overall agenda." The best example of what Mr. Rothenberg means is Senator Jesse Helms's advocacy of tobacco price supports, which are vital to farmers in North Carolina but which seem to undermine his free market ideology. Similarly, Chris Smith votes for higher education, Paula Hawkins for more Social Security, and Rudy Boschwitz for agricultural price supports—all of which show a willingness to protect constituent needs even at the cost of appearing inconsistent.

**Real Idealism**

Successful candidates, like our five studies, show a knack for building broad coalitions, which strategists hold to be a key to electoral victory. "Republicans don't understand coalition building and they don't like it," charges Patrick McGuigan, editor of the Free Congress Foundation's *Initiative and Referendum Report*. Mr. McGuigan advocates what Jack Kemp and Newt Gingrich have campaigned on: a conservative populism that draws heavily on the traditional values and economic initiative of the middle class. For too long, Mr. McGuigan says, "The Republican establishment has focused its attention on economic issues. Now they are probably the most important. But they only get you 40 percent of the vote. How do you go from 40 to 51 percent? By running on a strong defense and family values." Also conservatives should speak out sharply against the big bank bailouts and corporate welfarism, Mr. McGuigan says, because these liberal-initiated proposals outrage the average American, whose budget deficits at home are not remedied by Uncle Sam.

Moral issues, such as abortion and tuition tax credits, have often been shunned by conservative candidates because they fear that even Republicans are divided about them. But none of our five winners downplay these issues. In fact two of them—Mr. Smith and Mr. Kemp—use them to "cross pressure" Democrats. Paul Weyrich first advanced the theory that the abortion issue was a crucial one for conservatives because, although Republicans were divided on it, they were unlikely to abandon their party simply because they disagreed with its position on abortion, while antiabortion Democrats (especially Catholics) would be sorely tempted to break ranks with their party. Chris Smith proved Mr. Weyrich's hypothesis by using his prolife credentials to win Democratic votes on abortion, and he lost very few Republicans over it. School prayer is another potent political issue, one which has no "downside effect" because almost everybody supports it. But people have not tended to vote on this issue because conservatives have not brought it to the forefront of the debate.

Finally, there is the matter of constituency service. This is an absolute must for congressmen, but also important for senators. By and large conservatives have not been as good as liberals in addressing the specific needs of their districts. Some analysts put this down to ideology—the liberal view is more amenable to heavy social spending on public works projects and local give-away programs. But all politicians, to stay in office, must address such local items as sewers, power plants, safe streets, money for schools, garbage clean-up, and Social Security checks for the elderly. Our five victors all work assiduously for local needs because they realize that idealism in national politics is only possible because of realism in local politics. Whatever people think of the nuclear freeze and U.S. involvement in Central America, they want their roads swept, their snow blown, and their earned entitlements flowing. ☎



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**The Korean Institute of International Studies**
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Cable Address: 1234 Seoul, Korea; Tel. 752-7727, 7728, 28-7726



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# Pyrrhic Defeat

## *Barry Goldwater Lost by a Landslide in 1964. But His Legacy Changed the Terms of National Debate.*

Karl O'Lessker

New York governor Alfred E. Smith lost the 1928 presidential election by a near landslide, receiving only 41.2 percent of the major party vote. It was the third worst defeat of a Democrat since Reconstruction. Yet it is now commonly accepted, thanks to the work of political analyst Samuel Lubell in his classic *The Future of American Politics,* that the Smith debacle foreshadowed a historic realignment of party strength; not only laying the path to victory for Franklin D. Roosevelt four years later, but more importantly starting the Democratic party toward the majority status that it has now held for half a century.

It is now 20 years since the even worse defeat suffered by Senator Barry Goldwater at the hands of President Lyndon Johnson. Senator Goldwater won only 38.7 percent of the major party vote, the lowest that either Democrat or Republican had received since 1924. He carried only six states—Arizona and five in the Deep South—and in many states where he lost, a Republican had never been beaten so badly. Some northeastern counties voted Democratic for the first time since the Civil War.

Yet like Al Smith, Barry Goldwater left a permanent mark on American political history; the candidacy of each turns out to have been a watershed, even in crushing defeat. In 1980 a Republican presidential candidate every bit as conservative as Barry Goldwater—and who, in fact, first came to political prominence with a great television speech near the end of the 1964 campaign—won a near-landslide victory over an incumbent Democratic president. The Reagan victory did not reflect a major party realignment on the order of 1928 to 1936; on the contrary, the Democratic party remains today the majority party that emerged from the wreckage of 1928. But the Reagan presidency has been possible only as a result of the reshaping of the Republican party, which began with the Goldwater nomination, and which has transformed the terms of American political debate.

As Senator Goldwater recognized more clearly than anyone, so long as the party became progressively more liberal, under the leadership of eastern Republicans and in emulation of the Democrats, the nation's political center of gravity would continue its inexorable movement to the left. The only way to prevent that, Mr. Goldwater saw, was to reestablish the GOP as a genuine ideological (rather than merely spoils-of-office) opposition party. His own nomination, although seen by most establishment pundits as a short-lived aberration, was really only the first triumph of Mr. Goldwater's strategy.

Among conservatives, Senator Goldwater commanded the passionate loyalty of a vast throng of amateur activists. But he had also been the overwhelming favorite for the nomination among Republican party professionals—officeholders and county chairmen—since the defeat of Richard Nixon in 1960. How can they have so badly misread Mr. Goldwater's strength among the general electorate.

Any explanation must begin with the impact on Senator Goldwater's candidacy of the Kennedy assassination. Widely understood at the time, no single factor contributed more to the outcome of the 1964 election. To put it as simply as possible, Mr. Goldwater had had at least a fighting chance to beat Kennedy; against Johnson he had none. Conservatives then and afterwards cried "foul" when liberals in both parties and the news media began pronouncing Mr. Goldwater's doom within days of the assassination. But for all the obvious bias, even meanspiritedness, of those pronouncements, they rested on a base of political logic that had nothing to do with vile motives. The central idea was this: Against the big-city liberal northeasterner Kennedy, an attractive conservative westerner might well be able to sweep the South, the West, and the Border States while holding on to traditional Republican bastions in the Midwest and Plains. But against the (apparently) moderate liberal Texan, the chances of that kind of sweep plummeted. Put another way, Barry Goldwater's salient strengths in a contest with Kennedy disappeared when his opponent became Lyndon Johnson.

The important question thus becomes not why Senator Goldwater lost but why he lost so badly. In retrospect

KARL O'LESSKER, *professor of Public and Environmental Affairs at Indiana University, is senior editor of* The American Spectator.



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there appear to have been five major elements contributing to the final appalling outcome: the state of the nation; the brilliance of the Johnson campaign; the nature of the Goldwater campaign; the intransigence of anti-Goldwater Republicans; and the viciousness of the media.

The state of the nation was by no means conducive to eviction of the incumbent—whoever he was. On the positive side, the economy could hardly have been better, with a newly enacted tax cut, business booming, low unemployment, and low inflation. And what might now seem negatives—racial unrest and Vietnam—served Johnson's candidacy far better than Senator Goldwater's. As to the former, most white Americans outside the South weren't at all sure how best to restore racial peace; but they had little doubt that Johnson, with his syrupy appeals to justice and practical experience as a "moderate" Southern leader, would be better able to do so than would Mr. Goldwater, with his rather arid Constitutional abstractions and anti-civil rights reputation.

And Vietnam, we need to remember, wasn't yet a "war" for the United States. Though becoming increasingly worrisome to many Americans, here again they saw Johnson as far more likely than the allegedly trigger-happy Mr. Goldwater to restore peace.

In sum, Americans were generally content with conditions in 1964 and saw no compelling reasons to change leadership. And the Johnson campaign exploited those sentiments in masterful fashion. The distillation, the very essence of LBJ's appeal is captured in Theodore H. White's account of the 1964 campaign:

> But the great line of Lyndon Johnson happened, just like that, on a Septmenber morning as the street crowds boiled up around him in an engulfing demonstration at Providence, Rhode Island, halting his car and paralyzing his procession. Whereupon the President of the United States, transported, clambered atop his car, seized the bullhorn and shouted: "... And I just want to tell you this—we're in favor of a lot of things and we're against mighty few."

I doubt that a committee of the most brilliant advertising and public-relations minds in America could have come up with a theme more exquisitely attuned to the public mood than that; and all the more so in contrast to the dour and hectoring tone of Senator Goldwater's campaign. (But note how times change: Four years later when poor Hubert Humphrey burbled about "the politics of joy," with the Vietnam war raging, inflation soaring, riots in the streets, and in the aftermath of the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy, his words only made him appear ludicrous and pathetic.)

### A Time to Sow Seeds

Moreover, the Johnson campaign capitalized brilliantly on the issues that Senator Goldwater's Republican opponents had raised against him during the first half of the year. Rockefeller and company, with an invaluable assist from the news media, first devised the charges of criminal recklessness in domestic as well as foreign policy matters to hurl against Senator Goldwater. Johnson's men only recast them in more striking television images—the little girl plucking the petals from a daisy as the voice-over recited the countdown to nuclear holocaust; a pair of hands slowly tearing up a Social Security card. Whatever a presidential campaign can accomplish, the Johnson campaign did. It had an abundance of money, the best and brightest technicians, and a superb natural candidate at the height of his powers.

**Governor Al Smith, "Great Sachem of the Kanohwahke." His loss to Herbert Hoover in 1928 prepared the way for a new Democratic majority.**

The Goldwater campaign, by contrast, was technically lackluster and all throughout had an air of grim inevitability about it—as much as if to say, we know we're going to take a beating but we'll take it like men. And so indeed they did, with the Senator himself setting a remarkable example of toughness and courage and rigid adherence to principle. Late in the campaign, for example, he refused to allow use of a half-hour film appealing to Middle America's legitimate fears and darkest prejudices. It was racist, he said, as indeed it was in part, and over the objections of several key aides he vetoed it.

One other illustration of a possibly too-rigid adherence to principle sheds light on what seems to have been the campaign's innermost purpose: to educate, not to win. Early on, Senator Goldwater's top issues adviser, William J. Baroody of the American Enterprise Institute, proposed that it be laid down as an iron rule that the candidate would *never* discuss issues of merely local interest in any of his campaign appearances, but instead, always and everywhere, would address himself to matters of broad national concern. The Senator himself and his overall campaign manager Denison Kitchel accepted this very peculiar (in campaign terms) proposal and the campaign never deviated from it despite cries of anguish from second-echelon politicians in the organization.

And so, for example, on one swing through Tennessee, North Carolina, and Florida, Senator Goldwater refused to speak about cotton in Memphis, about the Tennessee Valley Authority in Knoxville, about tobacco in



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Winston-Salem, or about Social Security in St. Petersburg. (In Florida, where he lost by fewer than 43,000 votes, a strong effort to reassure Floridians that he wasn't an enemy of Social Security might well have salvaged the state for him.) What is striking about the decision and Senator Goldwater's unwavering adherence to it is how clearly it illustrates his determination, not so much to win the presidency as to test conservative principles in the waters of public opinion. Or to change the image: if not to harvest votes, then at least to sow seeds.

That is an admirable and nearly unprecedented position to take—you have to go all the way back to William Howard Taft in the ruins of 1912 to find a counterpart—but it doesn't do much for the indispensable *élan* and enthusiasm that characterize winning campaigns. Perhaps that is what conservative columnist Holmes Alexander meant when he wrote that fall: "You begin to get the idea that the Goldwater team has left its game in the gymnasium—that it was keyed up to win the nomination but doesn't know how to buck heads with the Democrats." My guess is that it wasn't so much a matter of not knowing how as not caring enough to do so. The great contest had been for control of the Republican party and (in Mr. White's words) "for its purification." They had won that one, but the contest they faced now was unwinnable. Better then to go down with principles intact, even if that meant sacrificing the immediate future. Someday they would rise again to harvest the crop that they had planted in 1964.

**A Mad Bomber?**

But if the contest truly was unwinnable, at what point did it become so? What smashed any hope Senator Goldwater might have had against LBJ was liberal Republican intransigence, working as it were synergistically with a bitterly hostile news media.

There can't have been anything like it since the Bryan campaign of 1896. Certainly the media had been unfair to the Republicans in 1960; but Mr: Nixon at least had a united party behind him. In 1964, by contrast, journalists portrayed Senator Goldwater not only as unfit to govern but as a factional politician repudiated by all the most enlightened and principled members of his own party, men who, casting their eyes soulfully toward heaven, had decided that party loyalty must bow to national interest. It was great theater, and members of the news media (and the Democrats) had the time of their lives with it.

But it wasn't only the pose, it was the substance of their mutual condemnation of Senator Goldwater that made such an impression on the public mind, stamping him indelibly as a radical. Examples of media savagery would fill a book, but here a few will have to suffice:

On an ABC "Issues and Answers" program Senator Goldwater was asked how we might interdict the North Vietnamese supply lines that were later to be known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail. He replied: "There have been several suggestions made. *I don't think we would use any of them.* But defoliation of the forests by low-yield atomic weapons could well be done." (Emphasis added.) So of course the Associated Press and newspapers across the country reported him as "suggesting" the use of atom bombs in Vietnam and put into quotation marks a statement he never made: "I'd Risk a War."

Similarly, throughout the campaign Americans were reminded of the Senator's offhand remark that we could "lob one into the men's room at the Kremlin." This remark helped to fix in all our minds the image of Senator Goldwater as a mad bomber. It was a phrase the Rockefeller forces made heavy use of in the California primary and was repeated over and over by Democratic orators. Senator Goldwater did in fact utter the words in quotes. But he did so in the context of explaining the difference between the accuracy and the reliability of American missiles. They were accurate enough, he said, "to lob one into the men's room at the Kremlin . . . *if* they could be launched." It came out that he *wanted* to lob one.

And so it was that the *New York Times'* chief foreign correspondent, C. L. Sulzberger, said of Mr. Goldwater, "The possibility exists that, should he enter the White House, there might not be a day-after-tomorrow." In its ferocity, indeed its extremism, that sentence could well be taken as the epitome of establishment news media treatment of the Arizonan. Little wonder that ordinary people came to see him not as a conservative but as a radical—and either stayed home on election day (the total vote declined sharply from 1960's level) or else voted for Johnson.

One final point about the internecine struggle among Republicans in 1964. The Rockefeller-Scranton wing no less than the Goldwaterites saw the main contest that year not as a realistic bid for the presidency but as an all-out fight for control of the party. It is no exaggeration to say that both preferred losing the election to losing the intraparty fight—a not unprecedented situation in American politics but one that rarely had such massive consequences for a national party.

The essential difference between the two wings was that up until only days before his actual nomination at the San Francisco convention Senator Goldwater was willing to forgive and forget and, in all likelihood, choose Governor William Scranton as his running mate. The liberals, by contrast, anathematized Senator Goldwater. In the justly infamous "Scranton Letter" of July 12, the governor's ghostwriter achieved what Robert Novak mildly calls "a new level of vituperation," ending once and for all any hope of a postconvention reconciliation. Senator Goldwater, for his part, was furious at the behavior of his erstwhile friend Mr. Scranton, who as recently as May 26 had written him disavowing any intention of participating in a stop-Goldwater effort and proclaiming that his "one overriding interest is for unity within the Republican Party." Just over two weeks later, when Senator Goldwater had the nomination sewed up following his California primary victory, Scranton declared his candidacy and launched a month-long campaign of vilification that culminated in the "Scranton Letter." To Senator Goldwater this whole affair was so inarguably a wrecking operation on the part of the eastern liberals (rather than a legitimate effort to win the nomination, which would have been understandable and forgivable) that only then did he accept as irreparable the breach within the party. Theodore White summed up the



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Euphoria in San Francisco, 1964. But Rockefeller and Scranton weren't carrying signs.

The Bettman Archive

episode superbly: "What Rockefeller had begun in Spring, Scranton finished in June and at the Convention: the painting for the American people of a half-crazed leader indifferent to the needs of American society at home and eager to plunge the nation into war abroad."

To estimate the long-term effects of the Goldwater candidacy on the politics of our own day, it is helpful to look again at the five campaign elements that accounted for the magnitude of Barry Goldwater's defeat, only this time to see how they affected the Reagan campaign.

The state of the nation. For the incumbent it could hardly have been worse. We were humiliated by the Iranian hostage crisis, ravaged by record-high inflation and interest rates, and threatened by Soviet expansionism and growing military strength. Perhaps not since 1952 had so many felt that it was time for a change.

The Carter campaign. Competent but ineffective. Staking everything on being able to portray Ronald Reagan as Goldwater Redivivus—that is, as a dangerous radical—it failed miserably. And President Carter himself, in such striking contrast to the Lyndon Johnson of 1964, was seen as an inept and indecisive bumbler.

The Reagan campaign. Technically competent and humming with the kind of confidence voters seem to respond to so favorably. Best of all, it had one of the great campaigners of our era, a man whose personal characteristics seemed almost magically well suited to the people's subliminal definition of a national leader. So attractive were the man and his message that Democratic efforts to tar him with the very same brushes they had used so effectively 16 years earlier (threat to Social Security, mad bomber, etc.) struck most people as ludicrous.

The Republican party. United and confident. Mr. Reagan's only serious opponent, George Bush, had barely laid a glove on him in the primaries (I suspect most people were far more amused than alarmed by his charge of "voodoo economics") and was ecstatic at being chosen as his running mate. The contrast between 1964 and 1980 in this regard could hardly be more striking—and more auspicious for the Republicans.

The news media. Disarmed and uncertain. I confess to having been greatly afraid in 1979 that if Governor Reagan were nominated, the media would do to him precisely what they had done to Barry Goldwater. Among the many reasons they didn't, these seem the most prominent: among reporters a dislike, almost contempt, for Carter; a grudging personal affection for Mr. Reagan; Mr. Reagan's and his staff's great skill in avoiding the kinds of major policy mistakes the media could clobber him with; and the lack of the kind of ammunition that might have been manufactured in a divisive nominating struggle. None of this is to say that the media were models of fairness in dealing with Mr. Reagan—they never are. But on the whole they refrained from the kind of destructive activities they had engaged in so effectively against Barry Goldwater.

The fairest measure of Senator Goldwater's success is not just the election of that stalwart Goldwaterite Ronald Reagan. It is the fact, glumly conceded even by the Left, that President Reagan and his Republicans have managed to change the terms of our national debate. The question is no longer *whether* to cut the growth of government but by how much; not *whether* to increase defense spending but how fast. It is inconceivable that a Republican party based in Massachusetts and New York and serving as the principal opposition to a New Class McGovernite Democratic majority would have done anything more than accelerate the movement to the left, changing it, not improbably, from a drift to a stampede.

Al Smith's triumph lay in expanding the boundaries of the Democratic party. Barry Goldwater's lay in reshaping and indeed revivifying the Republican party. This may yet lead to both party realignment and the emergence of a Republican majority. But even if the present system were to continue as is for years to come, Barry Goldwater in defeat will have contributed more to the nation's well being than all but a handful of candidates who won. ☎



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# In Pursuit of Happiness

## *Will the Libertarian Party Survive 1984?*

**Benjamin Hart**

One of the more intriguing side-questions in the 1984 presidential election is whether the Libertarian party will play a role. In 1980, its candidate Ed Clark placed a healthy fourth behind Ronald Reagan, Jimmy Carter, and John Anderson. Clark polled better than one percent nationwide, receiving 920,000 of the total votes cast. He also got 12 percent in Alaska and 3 percent in a number of western states, by far the best showing ever for a Libertarian presidential candidate. Clark might have done even better, had it not been for the independent candidacy of Anderson and the popularity of Reagan. This year, with Anderson out of the race, and the failure of both Republicans and Democrats to get federal spending under control, Libertarians have an opportunity to establish themselves as a serious third party.

Yet the Libertarians are entering the presidential contest in disarray. Their candidate for 1984, David Bergland, 48, won the nomination on the fourth ballot at a tumultuous convention in Manhattan's Sheraton Centre last September. He narrowly defeated Earl Ravenal, 270 to 242. Reflecting the party's anarchist tendencies, 24 delegates cast their ballots for "none of the above." And many of Ravenal's supporters have yet to make their peace with the victors.

"Essentially all the serious libertarian thinkers have left the party," says Ed Crane, chief campaign strategist for the Clark campaign in 1980 and now president of the Cato Institute in Washington. "The party has been taken over by a cliquish, inward-looking group that seems more interested in preserving its clubby atmosphere than in actually accomplishing anything politically."

Perhaps more important, the party has lost the backing of its principle financial supporter, Charles Koch, chief executive officer of Koch Industries, a diversified company with holdings in oil, and reportedly the nation's fourth largest privately owned business. Since 1976 he has contributed an estimated $5 million to libertarian causes. In 1980, Ed Clark selected Charles Koch's younger brother David as his running-mate, in part to circumvent federal election laws that prohibit individual contributions over $1,000 per campaign, but set no limit on what a candidate can spend on his own behalf. David Koch contributed $2 million of Clark's $3.5 million budget, helping to finance 60 five-minute advertisements broadcast nationwide.

The split between Bergland and Ravenal is partly over campaign strategy. Bergland's ideologically hardline platform calls for the abolition of the Internal Revenue Service, the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, welfare, social security, government-financed health care, and public schools. He would halt all government subsidies for business, including farm supports; he would bring all U.S. troops home from overseas, sever ties with NATO and all other alliances, and eventually turn the job of national defense over to the private sector.

Ravenal, like Clark in 1980, takes a less hardline approach. Instead of simply stating that Social Security should be abolished, as Bergland does, he endorses a plan set forth by Peter Ferrara, a Washington attorney, that gives people a choice between paying into Social Security or into a privately run retirement account such as an IRA. "There is no reason for the Libertarian Party to alienate the elderly," says Ravenal. Like Clark in 1980, Ravenal also would not immediately abolish the income tax, but rather propose "something like an initial 50 percent cut in the top rate."

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BENJAMIN HART *is Coordinator of Studies at The Heritage Foundation.*



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The split was clearly drawn during the convention when both candidates interrupted the voting to make a final appeal for the nomination. Ravenal, following the Clark strategy, talked about making the party "relevant

to the broad sweep of American people." Bergland stressed "the ideal of liberty" and the notion that "all taxation is theft."

Bergland criticized Ravenal for following what he called "Clark's failed pragmatism," saying this approach actually cost Libertarians votes in 1980 because they did not offer a distinct alternative to Ronald Reagan. "Moderation," says Bergland, "can only water down what Libertarians consider their greatest asset: consistency of our anti-government principles." Ravenal counters: "Bergland's approach of stressing ideology will not get us votes, or broaden our appeal. We have to sell the public on specific policy proposals and programs." The differences between the two are also questions of regional style.

Bergland is a Californian; a former fireman, he now runs his one-man law firm in Costa Mesa. He is a free-wheeling fitness buff who loves to body surf and ski. At the convention he captured the support of his home state. The California delegation, as one might suspect was not at all self-conscious about straying outside the bounds of mainstream American politics: "I became a libertarian," said one California delegate, "when I started smoking dope and paying taxes."

### Hippies, Rednecks, and Preppies

Supported by the second largest delegation, New York, Ravenal is part of the eastern establishment. The author of numerous books and articles on national defense, a frequent lecturer on college campuses, a professor at Georgetown, his concern is intellectual respectability.

The Ravenal-Bergland fight was precipitated by the abrupt withdrawal from the race of the acknowledged front-runner, Gene Burns, a radio talk show host from Orlando, Florida. Burns pulled out when the party said it could not guarantee reimbursement for personal campaign spending. It goes without saying that a Libertarian candidate would never accept federal matching funds.

But factional fights were already brewing. Disappointed with Clark's showing at the polls in 1980, Bill Evers, a former sixties antiwar activist and currently Bergland's campaign manager, began to organize for 1984 under the motto: "Never Again Clark! Never Again Crane!" Evers blames Ed Crane for persuading Clark to water down his Libertarian message. Despite Bergland's and Evers's sharp criticism of the 1980 campaign, Clark has thrown his support behind his fellow Californian—some say because of yet another faction feud between Crane, who supported Ravenal, and Ed Clark's wife Alicia, the former chairman of the party and the presiding officer at the convention.

The Libertarians, according to party operatives, have always been divided among three groups. Murray Rothbard, anarchist intellectual and writer, labels the factions "hippies," "rednecks," and "preppies." The hippies, according to Rothbard, came to the party on civil-libertarian grounds. They stress decriminalization of "victimless" crimes, such as drugs, prostitution, and pornography, and talk about "the right to control one's own body." The rednecks operate more on a gut level, and have been known to take rifle shots at tax collectors. They want to keep their money and guns, and to ride their motorcycles without having to wear a helmet. The preppies run the think tanks, like Cato Institute and Reason Foundation, or are employed as professors at universities. They churn out tracts on public policy, and their best proposals are usually adopted by the Republican and Democratic parties.

Bill Evers, from the hippie faction, and Murray Rothbard forged an unlikely alliance with the rednecks and chased the preppies represented by Ed Crane and Earl Ravenal out of the party. As if to make a principled statement against the Eastern establishment in general, and government in particular, the party under its new leadership moved its headquarters from Washington to Houston.

"The move to Houston was foolish," says Ravenal. "It's as if, by doing this, they are trying to forget the problem, which is in Washington. It's a little like a drowning man trying to forget about the water." Paul Grant, the current chairman of the Libertarian National Committee, says Houston provided a friendlier environment for libertarians: "Washington, for the most part,

was hostile to our message."

Unlike most liberals, Libertarians want government completely out of the private economy. Unlike most conservatives, they want all U.S. armed forces out of



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foreign countries. Some libertarians, such as Robert Poole, president of the Reason Foundation, favor a strong national defense, on the grounds that the communist threat is a greater danger to individual freedom than a large Pentagon budget. Eventually, however, all Libertarians want to abolish taxes and support the military through private means and voluntary contributions. Bergland is particularly radical on the issue of defense: "The U.S. national defense forces should be brought home. We should disengage from alliances we are presently in and shut down our overseas military bases. This would save $200 billion a year, and serve as an inducement to world peace." As for Soviet operations in other nations, Bergland says Soviet efforts are "in large part to counterbalance moves by the American military." He opposed the U.S. invasion of Grenada and involvement in Beirut.

The consistency of the party's view is summed up in the slogan: "U.S. Out of South America. U.S. Out of North America." Bergland would let the private sector build all roads, bridges, and dams. He would close down all government-run hospitals and sell off all public lands, including parks, to pay off the national debt.

Until the mid-1960s libertarians, to a large extent, were part of the conservative movement. Economists like Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, Jay Albert Nock, and Leonard Read were all fierce opponents of the post-New Deal drift of the world toward collectivism and centralized government power. They are considered by most political historians to be part of a conservative intellectual tradition, but because of their commitment to individual liberty over what some would call "the collective good," their philosophy was actually Libertarian. Many Libertarians, however, began to leave the conservative fold over such issues as the Vietnam war and the legalization of so-called victimless crimes. In 1969, at a Young Americans for Freedom convention in St. Louis, controversy raged over the draft and decriminalization of marijuana. The dispute was irreconcilable; the conservatives purged the libertarians, and a small group of them formed the Society for Individual Liberty.

**Fighting Spirit**

Meanwhile, a number of libertarian intellectuals began to write hopefully of a break with the right. Murray Rothbard once accused William F. Buckley, Jr. of wanting to destroy the Soviet Union in a nuclear war. Karl Hess, a speechwriter for Barry Goldwater in 1964, was an anarchist by 1968: "Vietnam should remind all conservatives that whenever you put your faith in big government, sooner or later, you wind up an apologist for mass murder."

Like many libertarians, Hess opted out of politics altogether, thinking that any form of organized political activity is an inherent slippery slope to totalitarianism. He has also dropped out of the American economy. Today, Hess owns no private property, no longer acknowledges the validity of manufactured currency, and operates on a barter basis, accepting only usable items for services rendered. He lives this way in order to avoid the "tyranny" of the Internal Revenue Service.

Other Libertarians decided to become political. They talked about starting a new third party, the catalyst for which occurred on August 15, 1972, when President Richard Nixon announced his plan to impose wage and price controls. That year, Libertarians launched their first presidential candidate, John Hospers, who was chairman of the philosophy department at the University of Southern California. He got on the ballot in only two states and received 5,000 votes.

By 1976, however, the party had become a noticeable political force. Presidential candidate Roger MacBride, a Princeton-educated lawyer, won 175,000 votes. Ed Clark, once a liberal Republican who worked for John Lindsay, left mainstream politics, saying both major parties had been taken over by "frauds." He ran in 1976 as a Libertarian for governor of California and corralled five percent of the vote. In 1978 Libertarian candidates for local and congressional elections garnered 1.5 million votes.

With Ed Clark at the head of the ticket, libertarians had their best year in 1980, but they may run into trouble in 1984. For one thing, the party in recent years seems to be heading left. Its candidate for lieutenant governor of California in 1982 was homosexual activist John Vernon. And the party today seems to attract former sixties New Left figures. Antiwar activist Eugene McCarthy, liberal journalist Nicholas von Hoffman, and former LSD promoter Timothy Leary have all addressed recent libertarian conventions. Now the eastern "preppy" wing, represented by Ravenal and Crane, has all but abandoned the party.

In addition, without Koch money, it is unclear whether the party will be able to sustain its momentum. Its budget will have to be cut drastically. Meanwhile, some states have made it more difficult for third parties to get on the ballot. Bergland looks on the brighter side, pointing out that 600 Libertarians will run for office in 1984. He says that 40 to 50 members of the party now hold elected posts, mostly on the school-board or city-council level. "The party this year is stronger than ever," says Bergland. "Fifty percent of the American voting population has dropped out of the political process. We have a chance to bring them back in."

Libertarians still active in the party are going into this election year with a fighting spirit epitomized by Richard Siano, a town supervisor in New Jersey, and one of the few Libertarian elected officials: "Ask not what you can do for your country," says Siano. "Just go out and do whatever the hell you can do for youself." ☎



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# Alex Cockburn's Popular Front

## *The Nation's Wittiest Soviet Apologist Has an Eye for Rich Men's Daughters*

Charlotte Hays

When the *Village Voice* ejected columnist Alexander Cockburn for a relatively minor infraction of journalistic ethics, *Commentary* editor Norman Podhoretz compared the situation to "Al Capone's going to prison for income tax evasion." Cockburn's misdeed was neglecting to inform his editor about a $10,000 grant he'd received from an Arab organization in the U.S. The money was supposed to defray travel expenses for a book on Lebanon that Cockburn (pronounced "Coburn") never got around to writing, a fairly common occurrence, among authors.

As scandals go, it was pretty mild stuff. But Alexflap (as the *Wall Street Journal* dubbed the incident) quickly developed into a Major Topic on the New York literary circuit: The 43-year-old Alex Cockburn, a Soviet apologist who seemed to have an eye for rich men's daughters, had been caught with his pants down. Finally. Some New Yorkers giggled that the Arab money was a "bridge loan between heiresses." An earlier remark by syndicated columnist and *National Review* editor Joe Sobran was repeated often: "Alexander Cockburn's scorn for the men who created the wealth of America is exceeded only by his admiration for the women who inherited it."

The admiration is mutual, especially among the literary set. Cockburn is newly married to novelist Kathryn Kilgore, granddaughter of Barney Kilgore, the legendary *Wall Street Journal* editor of the 1940s and 1950s. Previously he squired around Lally Weymouth, who writes for *New York* magazine and *Parade* and is the daughter of *Washington Post* chairman Katharine Graham. Cockburn's first wife was a feminist novelist, Emma Tennant, sister of Lord Glenconnor. Moving from England, Cockburn arrived in New York with Emma II—Emma Rothschild, author of *Paradise Lost,* a study of the decline of the auto industry, and today a professor at MIT.

Many conservatives are irked that the *Wall Street Journal*, where Alex writes a column, didn't complete Cockburn's disgrace by booting him off the op-ed page. But the *Journal*, in an avuncular editorial, dismissed the whole business as ridiculous. "We didn't hire Alex to be a button-down Caesar's wife. In fact, we didn't hire him to be objective. We hired him because of his biases, which we're sure are totally incorruptible." The editorial went on to tease Alex affectionately about constantly being late with his copy. At present, Cockburn is also roosting at *The Nation,* a far less visible (and significantly less lucrative) perch than the *Village Voice.*

Virulently anti-Israel, Cockburn attributes much of the fallout from his misadventure with the Arab money to a deeply ingrained prejudice against Arabs in the U.S. His severest critic at the *Village Voice* was reportedly the radical feminist editor Ellen Willis, whom he described as "the worst Zionist at the *Voice.*"

Victor Navasky, editor of *The Nation,* suggests that Cockburn's petty slip was simply an excuse to get rid of him. "I would not be surprised," said the dapper, bearded Navasky during an interview in his Greenwich Village office, "to learn that any number of conservative columnists have an affiliation with the American Enterprise Institute. Nor would I be surprised that any number of left-leaning columnists have an affiliation with the Institute for Policy Studies. If that's so, what's so different about the Arab Institute?"

Navasky credits the *New York Times,* whose executive editor, Abe Rosenthal, has been savaged often by Cockburn, for blowing the incident out of proportion. The *Times* deemed the miniscandal sufficiently important to put it in its index of major events of the day twice; according to Jack Newfield, an investigative reporter at the *Voice,* "Once it got into the *Times,* and the *Washington Post,* [*Voice* editor] David Schneiderman felt he was being judged." Gossip columnist Liz Smith offered an only slightly less Machiavellian interpretation of the fiasco. "Ever since Watergate, people are standing around hoping you'll forget to pay your maid or whatever." Cockburn, she thinks, is the victim of "an awful lot of hysterical, self-righteousness within the press."

Toeing the Soviet line while mingling with high society is an old Cockburn tradition. Alex is the son of Claud Cockburn (1904–81), one of England's most respectable

CHARLOTTE HAYS *is a free-lance journalist living in Washington, D.C.*



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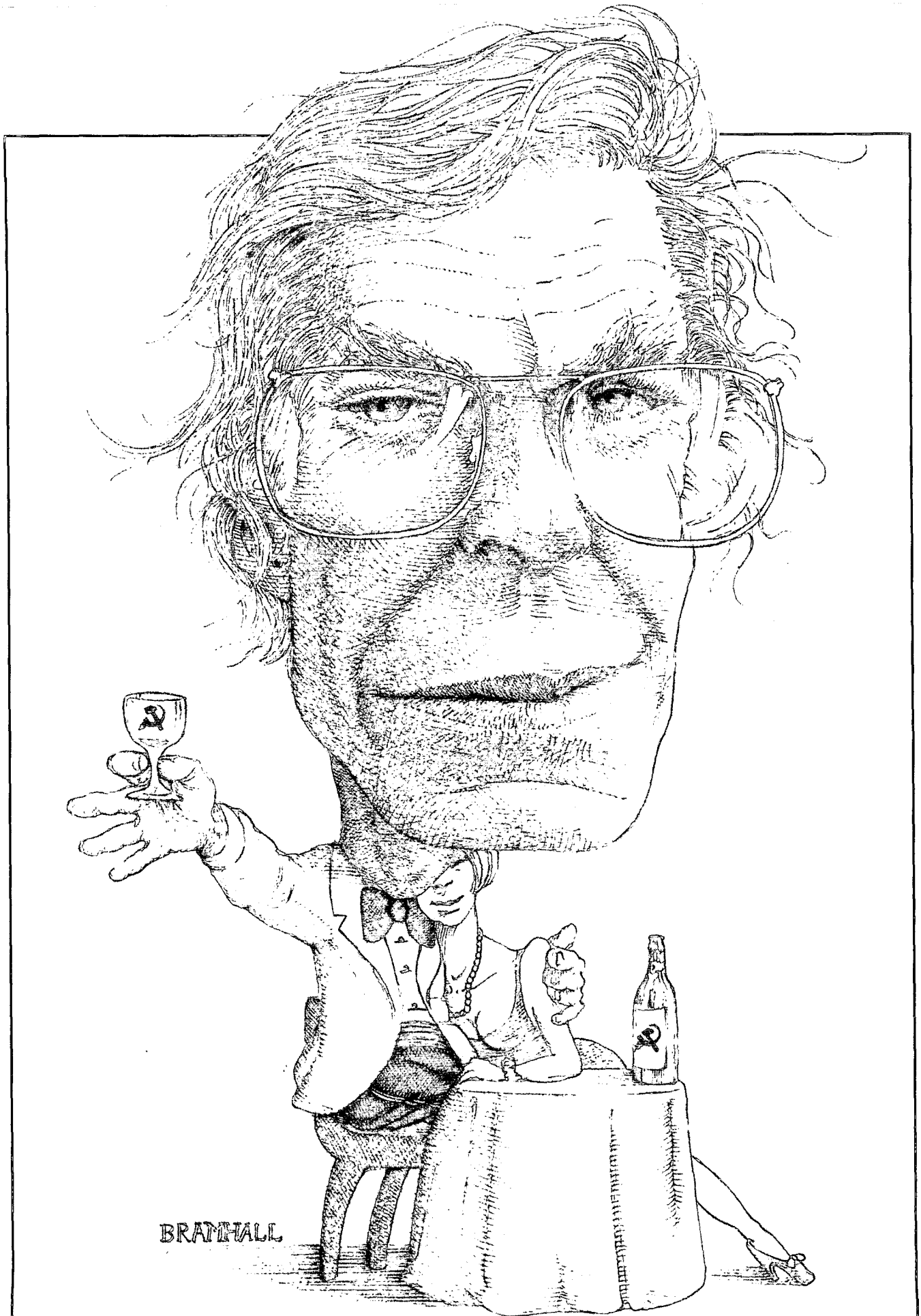


Drawing by Bill Bramhall for *Policy Review*



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left-wing journalists, a man canonized by Philip Toynbee as "the patron saint of the 30s." The elder Cockburn edited the communist journal *The Week* (Edward VIII was a subscriber and almost a contributor) and was briefly *Pravda*'s London correspondent until his Kremlin contact was executed and Cockburn's dispatches abruptly ceased to run. He also contributed the term Cliveden Set to the lexicon to denote the English aristocrats who cavorted about the Astor estate and advocated appeasement to Hitler. Alex's mother is Patricia Arbuthnot Cockburn, daughter of a rich Anglo-Irish family, who chronicled Claud's career in a book entitled *The Years of The Week*.

A number of Alex watchers have noticed Cockburn's remarkable devotion to his father. "It's the thing I kind of like about him," says James Ring Adams, a member of the *Wall Street Journal*'s editorial board, "and it explains his behavior. I sometimes have the idea that Alex's left-wing ideology is loyalty to his father. He's too cynical to be a real leftist. But if one has to be a leftist, that's the most appealing reason. It's obvious from his writing that he worships his father."

Alex's own interpretation is slightly different. "I thought my father was very admirable," said Cockburn, as he sat in Bocuse, a green-awninged Upper West Side restaurant. Looking like a scruffy version of Rupert Brooke, with his orange and white kerchief tied around his neck and his felt hat resting on a chair, Cockburn said, "I respect my father as a writer and radical journalist, and obviously I'm aware that I live in the shadow of what might be described as a family trade. I thought my father was a hero, but to say I worshipped him implies some blind, unthinking fealty." As he sipped his red wine, he moodily said that people who attribute his beliefs to filial loyalty "will use anything to disqualify a guy from being an intellectual contender."

Nevertheless, Alex chose to honor his father by naming his new *Nation* column "Beat the Devil" after a 1950s novel by Claud Cockburn (under the pseudonym of James Helvick) that became a money-making John Huston movie. (The proceeds paid for the educations of Claud's three sons.) And, oddly for a dedicated Marxist, Alexander Cockburn admits to feeling "kinship" and warmth for such ancestors as Henry Lord Cockburn, the great Scottish magistrate and author of *Memorials of His Time*. He bragged to a reporter who had come up from Washington that morning that another of his forebears, Admiral Sir George Cockburn, had torched Washington during the War of 1812. And Alex is *notoriously* not averse to letting drop his kinship to the snobbish novelist Evelyn Waugh. (Waugh is a cousin.)

**Polonius, Attila, & Bull at the Voice**

Alex grew up in Ireland, went to Glen Almond, a boarding school in Scotland, and read literature at Oxford's Keble College (not very fashionable but the same college Claud attended). He then embarked on a London journalistic career. Too old to join the halcyon days of student revolt at Oxford, he and Robin Blackburn, son of a member of Parliament famous for morality crusades, edited a 1969 collection of essays entitled *Student Power*. In the introduction, Alex extolled "the astonishing works of Mao Tse Tung" and explained how radicals could turn their universities into "red bases." The style was grimly serious and heavy on dialectical analysis.

Cockburn was also a prominent member of the *New Left Review*, a neo-Marxist journal on whose editorial committee he still serves, an editor at the *Times Literary Supplement*, and a contributor to the *New Statesman*, the left-wing weekly founded by Beatrice and Sidney Webb. But Cockburn's most memorable London journalistic adventure was the founding of a radical news weekly called *Seven Days*. The radicals on the journal raised money by throwing parties, and the short-lived newspaper published dramatic photography and stories on such topics as a Nazi reunion and reports on the Oman War written by Fred Halliday, who is working now at IPS.

*Even many of Cockburn's adversaries enjoyed his press column for its refusal to take U.S. journalists as seriously as they take themselves.*

It was around the same time that Cockburn's marriage to Emma Tennant, several years his senior, was breaking up. New York gossip columnist Taki described Tennant as "wiser, less rich and a better writer" after the end of the Cockburn marriage. Cockburn and Tennant have a teenaged daughter named Daisy, who lives in England with her mother. Alex adamantly rejects the heiress label for "poor old Emma Tennant" who "doesn't have a dime." He attributes this sorry state to England's inheritance laws, which are weighted in favor of males; Tennant's brother Colin Tennant (Lord Glenconnor) is undeniably very rich. (Aside from Alex Cockburn, Emma Tennant has also been married to the British writer and *Private Eye* founder Christopher Booker and also to a son of the Oxford novelist Henry Green. During the mid-1970s, Tennant was editor of the avant-garde literary magazine called *Bananas*, which Auberon Waugh dismissed as pretentious rubbish.)

According to *Private Eye*'s editor Richard Ingrams, Cockburn hadn't made much of a name in British journalism when he left for New York in 1972. He was simply known around town as a radical journalist. But the U.S. offered Alex scope for his talent: His Mandarin style was a novelty in the U.S. As a recent arrival, Alex parlayed some vague connection with the *Village Voice*'s Bartle Bull into a luncheon invitation. Bull wasn't charmed and was quoted disparaging Alex as "an admiral in the British sponge fleet." But publisher Dan Wolf was captivated, and he gave Cockburn the job of running the *Voice*'s fledgling book division, which he did for two years. During this period Cockburn managed to bring



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out only one book: a psychoanalytic study on chess by one Alexander Cockburn—*Idle Passion: Chess and the Dance of Death.*

When the book operation folded, Cockburn started writing the "Press Clips" column that gave him his niche. He also wrote political stories with James Ridgeway, but it was in "Press Clips" that his witty, snobbish style fully came across. Certainly "Press Clips" was the only column around that routinely dropped recondite references to various Roman emperors, Monsignor Knox, and characters from Evelyn Waugh novels. Cockburn sprinkled Latin phrases about the page.

Unlike stodgier American journalists, he enjoyed a nasty, *ad hominem* attack. Once he twitted *New Republic* editor-in-chief Martin Peretz (whose pro-Israel politics do not endear him to Alex) as a man whose "saddle bags bulge with money from his second wife, an heiress to the Singer fortune." He alluded to columnist James Reston's long-winded seniority by referring to the venerable Timesman as Polonius. He named another Timesman, Max Frankel, Attila the Hun. His unkindest cuts, however, went for Norman Podhoretz, whom he dubbed The Frother. Silly comments would often appear bracketed in a box headlined "The Frother Seal of Approval," and Alex loved to imply that Podhoretz was an embarrassment to his publishers at the American Jewish Committee. Podhoretz in turn said over the telephone that he is "still unhappy with the *Wall Street Journal* for giving him that column." (Originally, *Journal* editor Bob Bartley received so much criticism for hiring Cockburn that he printed up "Alex Cockburn Complaint Tickets" and distributed them to carpers.)

Even many of Cockburn's political adversaries enjoyed his press column for its refusal to take U.S. journalists as seriously as they take themselves. Cockburn, for example, once quoted the *Washington Post*'s premier political pundit, David Broder, glooming over "a pensive, introspective Christmas season in America" and then reported: "I saw David Broder a few days ago in New Hampshire. Appearances can deceive, but he did not look notably troubled to me. Not frisky, mind you, but then I doubt that Broder ever looks frisky. He bears the responsibilities of office too heavily for that." In his final "Press Clips" column after his suspension from the *Voice,* Cockburn recalled that *Voice* editor David Schneiderman had been "touchingly pleased" to be invited to serve on a Pulitzer Prize committee. Cockburn compared the honor to "the owner of the town brothel being invited to the annual bash of the Chamber of Commerce."

### Socializing for a Free Lunch

Aside from his father, Alex Cockburn's main media hero was Larry Stern, national editor of the *Washington Post* who died while jogging on Martha's Vineyard in 1979. Cockburn and Teofila Acosta of the Cuban interest section eulogized Stern at a memorial service held at the Friends Meeting House in northwest Washington. Later Alex wrote a revealing obituary for Stern entitled "Death in August" in the *Village Voice.* He praised Stern as a journalist who "knew what the facts were long

**Admiral Sir George Cockburn, a forebear, torched Washington during the War of 1812.**

before he discovered what they actually were" and who was "not one of those pallid souls who need a roadmap to get from a gas shortage to Exxon headquarters." He recalled that Larry Stern had been "a Trotskyite in his hot youth" and elegantly concluded with a Latin tag: *"Timor mortis conturbat me."* (Larry Stern's death had also been a personal loss for Cockburn. Stern had been part of a foursome, also including English journalist and nuke-knocker Peter Pringle and John Ritch of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, that for several years gathered at Cockburn's New York apartment for Christmas dinner.)

Many journalists can be very tiresome delivering homilies on the theme of objectivity, but Alex Cockburn has flaunted his contempt for this rubric of the profession. He has, in fact, written several flattering articles on an escapade in which his father and Otto Katz, a famous 1930s propagandist, invented a battle whole cloth to further the cause of the Republicans during the Spanish Civil War. The Battle of Tetuan was designed to convince Leon Blum, premier of France, whose government was officially noninterventionist, to unofficially continue allowing arms for the rebels to cross the Catalan frontier. "Our chief anxiety," the elder Cockburn wrote, in his memoirs *I, Claud,* "was that, with nothing but the plans in our guide books, which were without contours, we might have Democrats and Fascists firing at one another from either end of an avenue that some much-travelled night editor would know had a hump in the middle." The day the story appeared a delegation of Communists



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**"Barbarous ethnics" in Afghanistan. "If ever a country deserved rape," wrote Cockburn when the Soviets invaded, "it is Afghanistan."**

called on Blum, and their requests regarding arms were met.

One of the main questions about Alex is his personal view of the Soviet Union. He cagily deflects inquiries on the subject by conjuring up the specter of cold-war hysteria. Certainly his father never wavered from his support for the Soviets, even during the disillusioning days of the Soviet-Nazi Pact. He did quietly resign from the Party in 1948, but he never gave his reasons. Christopher Hitchens, the *Nation*'s Washington correspondent and a friend of the Cockburn family, thinks that Claud was highly critical of those who publicly recanted their Soviet sympathies. His departure from the Party remains a mystery.

"The real question for Marxists," Hitchens said during a conversation at Suzanne's, a trendy wine bar in Washington, "is the Soviet Union. Almost no school of Marxism now believes that the Soviet Union is a socialist society. I don't think Alexander believes it is. My view is that the Soviet Union is an enemy of socialism. But Alex takes a longer view of history." Cockburn even defended the Soviet downing of the KAL airliner, and he was positively ferocious about "the barbarous ethnics" of Afghanistan when the Soviet army rolled into that country. "I yield to none in my sympathy for those prostrate beneath the Russian jack-boot," he wrote, "but, if ever a country deserved rape, it is Afghanistan."

The Big Question about Alex, of course, is not his politics, but why he's so fond of heiresses. Alex is visibly weary of the subject. "If you can prove that I've spent my life living in the lap of luxury and floating around in Rolls Royces," he said, "then you'd have a point. They [people who bring this up] fantasize a wonderful life for me, and maybe their lives are s--tty. Maybe they are boring people." Hitchins thinks Alex "lost money on the deal" because "going with rich people is expensive." Alex is frequently "strapped for the price of lunch." Nora Ephron says: "Alex gets under people's skin because he's immensely charming and such a wonderful writer—it doesn't seem fair that he gets to be left wing and have so much fun. It's as if he's supposed to be suffering. People act like to be a serious member of the Left you have to walk around in blue jeans and eat Blimpies."

As a matter of fact, Alex lives in a rather elegantly dilapidated co-op on Central Park West. The apartment is furnished in randomly bought Art Deco objects with a garish 1950s TV with a smoked-mirrored console. Bocuse, where Alex consented to give an interview after weeks of cajolery, is a few blocks away. (As for the interview, everybody had accurately predicted that Alex would play the reluctant debutante and give in charmingly.)

Successful writers traditionally have the run of society, but Cockburn's party line raises eyebrows at the *Village Voice*. "I think he lives in a different world from mine," said Jack Newfield. "He goes to Elaine's. He gets invited to dinner parties at Lillian Hellman's. There are a lot of writers and celebrities he hangs out with, and they're not people like [*Voice* columnist Nat] Hentoff and me." When Liz Smith spotted a picture of Alex escorting Lally Weymouth to a party in *Women's Wear Daily*, she



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dashed off a note teasing Alex that "your father would turn over in his grave to see you in black tie going to a party at the Bill Paley's." Actually Claud was quite capable of enjoying a country house party with aristocratic neighbors at Youghal (in Ireland) and even kept hunters in his stable.

**Invisible Wit**

Even so, the elder Cockburn had to struggle to keep going financially. "Alex's father," said Hitchens, "was used to them sending the van around to get the furniture. He'd say 'F--- you! I'm going to have an article in Malcolm Muggeridge's magazine, and then I'll pay you.' The Cockburns didn't have a petit bourgeois fear of disgrace." As a young journalist, Alex often had to weigh in with financial support for Claud during his final years of sickness in Ireland.

Alex at times sounds a bit like a right-winger manqué. He exults over his beloved 1962 Chrysler Imperial as "one of the perfect expressions of postwar American confidence." He says he came to the U.S. because it is "one of the most fascinating places in the world" and because "like many before me I realized there is a vast potential for the realization of man's noblest ideals in America." "But some things make me bitter," Alex complains. "Being called anti-American by William F. Buckley! I'm anti-Buckley but not anti-American."

This is a crucial point in Alexander Cockburn's career. The drab *Nation* is a far less influential forum than the *Voice* and doesn't offer Cockburn as much exposure. Cockburn was on indefinite suspension without pay from the *Voice*, but he refused to return when Schneiderman offered him his old job back in April. Some critics of Cockburn may rejoice that (at least for the time being) the country's wittiest philoKremlin isn't quite so visible.

Meanwhile, Alex Cockburn is carrying on the tradition over at the *Nation*. His first column, which unfortunately hit the newsstands during Yuri Andropov's funeral, was devoted to peddling the official Soviet line of the previous week—namely, that Andropov wasn't deathly sick. "Yuri Andropov and Franklin Roosevelt have more in common than is generally supposed," began a column that quoted Zhores Medvedev to the effect that Yuri Andropov would soon appear in a wheelchair. Alex brightly implied that this would be a boon for "disabled people in the Soviet Union, who have scandalously few facilities of the sort available in the West." Then Alex teasingly offered Andropov some advice: "If he had any sense," Alex wrote, "Andropov would press for a summit at Yalta with Reagan and appear in his wheelchair, wearing a cloak and gripping a cigarette holder at a jaunty angle." Carry on, Comrade Alex!


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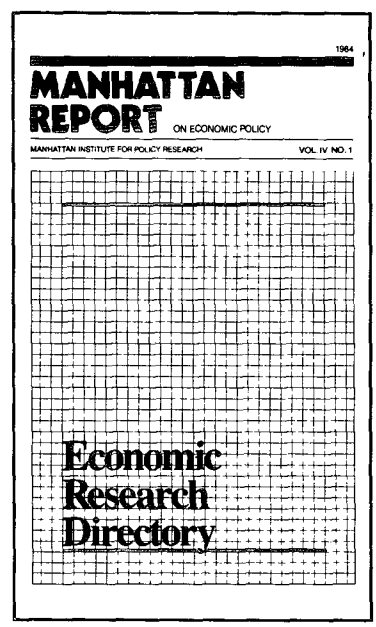





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# The Best Health Care for Everyone

## *Medicine in the Conservative Opportunity Society*

**Representative Newt Gingrich**

Health care is today the most expensive sector in American life. It takes one and a half times as large a share of the gross national product as national defense, and of all our activities, its costs have risen the most dramatically. Within a generation, if health expenditures continue to rise at their present rate, they will amount to 20 cents of every dollar earned in America.

This is hardly surprising. In a free society, people will exert great pressure on their political leaders to ensure access to medicine and doctors. Our public commitment to a healthier nation has yielded many happy results, including longer lifespans, an easing of pain, and a remarkable drop in death rates.

Our greatest success in health care over the last 200 years has not come from better hospitals and doctors, however. The real advances have come from eliminating the epidemic diseases that once took so many lives.

The eradication of cholera, smallpox, yellow fever, typhus, typhoid, and bubonic plague has saved more lives than all other medical breakthroughs combined. Thanks to the destruction of the parasites that caused these dread diseases, we now live in a fundamentally new era of human history.

The model of this great change may be the eradication of polio, only 30 years ago a common affliction. Thousands upon thousands of children were paralyzed and faced the prospect of living their lives in an iron lung. Their only hope was from improvements in iron lung technology or from better techniques of rehabilitation. But Jonas Salk's polio vaccine transformed the world, moving beyond these marginal improvements in treating the symptoms, to the virtual elimination of the disease itself.

Today, as we try to achieve quality health care at reasonable cost, we are trapped by a focus on tactical or at best operational changes within the existing vision and strategies of health care. We are trying to invent marginally better iron lungs. What we need are breakthroughs that will reshape the system of health care.

Otherwise, the inexorably rising costs of the current system are going to lead to an even more bureaucratic structure of semisocialized medicine. A recent liberal Democratic proposal called for jailing doctors for six months if they failed to obey government regulations on accepting Medicare patients while working in a hospital that receives government funds. First we designed a Medicare system with so much red tape that people didn't want to work with it. Then we threatened to jail people for failing to participate in a system we had fouled up. It was arrogance of big government at its worst.

The Reagan administration has also failed to break out of the liberal welfare state mentality. The administration is imposing a uniform set of payments for "diagnostically related" treatments, which will involve more bureaucracy and more paperwork. Any national bureaucratic response, even the best intentioned, is ultimately doomed to failure because of the basic nature of the centralized welfare state.

We need a less expensive, less centralized approach to providing quality health care for everyone. Here are seven ideas for getting there:

- *Preventive medicine through personal responsibility.* Within a decade, a combination of good health habits and home health care could reduce the total number of hospital days by 20 percent. That would save substantially more money than the bureaucratic controls we are moving toward.

We must shape a vision of personal responsibility, so that people take care of themselves by watching their diets and habits. We may want to reward people who do not need health care.

For instance, we could simply offer a $500 year-end bonus to people who have not used Medicare during the year. This would make it worthwhile for citizens to pay up to $500 on their own care instead of using the Medicare system. The long-term effect of rewarding people for watching their health, taking care of themselves, and being responsible for minor health costs would more than pay for such a year-end bonus.

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NEWT GINGRICH, *a Republican congressman, represents the Sixth District of Georgia. This article is adapted from a chapter in his forthcoming book,* Window of Opportunity, *written with Marianne Gingrich and David Drake.*



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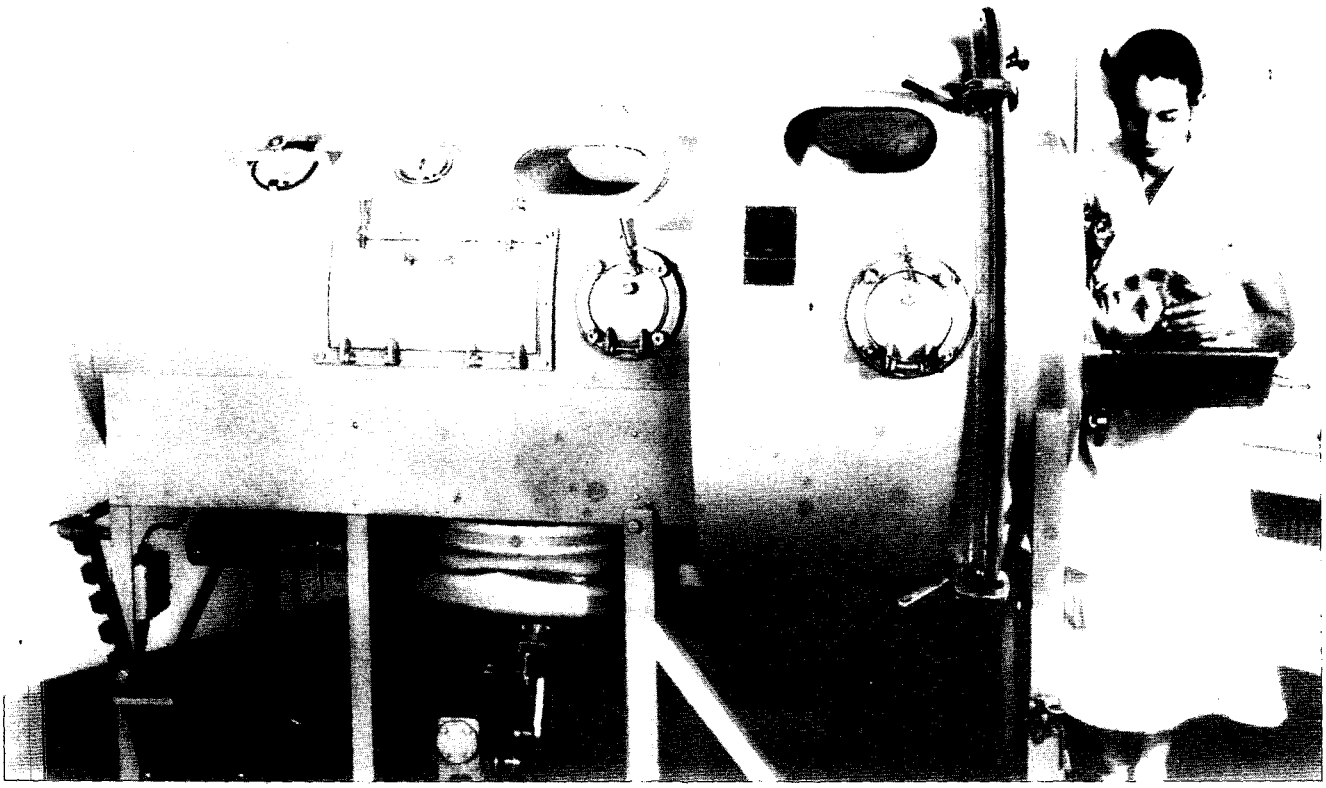

**Jonas Salk's polio vaccine replaced the iron lung. It was the kind of strategic breakthrough we should be encouraging today.**

We must bring physical education teachers, recreation program directors, and health spa staffers into the process of developing sound public health. Every citizen who avoids a heart attack saves the community money. Every month that people can live in their own homes because they are physically and mentally in good shape saves us thousands of dollars in nursing home bills. Incentives for participation in physical fitness programs, especially for people over 40, would probably pay for themselves.

Finally, we should establish a more direct relationship between bad health habits and the cost of those habits to society. At present nondrinkers pay for alcoholism clinics and nonsmokers subsidize the hospital costs of treating lung cancer. A health tax on the alcohol and tobacco industries would begin to recoup the costs they impose on society at large and would have two beneficial side effects: We would marginally discourage alcohol and tobacco abuse, and we would encourage people to watch what they drink and smoke.

When people learn that their habits have a lot to do with their health, and when they view health spas and recreation departments as their allies in the effort to stay healthy all their lives, we will have a more positive nation, more active senior citizens, and a less used, less expensive health care system.

○ *Rewards for dramatic investments.* We are currently spending over a billion dollars a year on kidney dialysis. Kidney dialysis allows thousands of Americans to live much longer. But the equipment in dialysis centers is very expensive and must be operated by well trained and well paid technicians.

The liberal welfare state response to the rising cost of kidney dialysis will be to accuse the centers of gouging the public, to establish tighter guidelines, and to hire more bureaucrats to audit more centers. There will presently be horror stories about some investors and doctors making a lot of money from kidney dialysis. The government will start squeezing payments and fighting against future cost increases. This will lead to an association of kidney patients and their families. They will pressure their congressmen and senators to make sure the money is available to save their lives.

A more fruitful strategy would be to offer a very large reward, possibly $100 million, to the inventor or inventors who come up with an inexpensive, self-applied kidney dialysis system. Just as the polio vaccine eliminated iron lung wards in hospitals, we want to make it so simple and easy for kidney patients to take care of themselves that a decade from now, the dialysis center will be a relic of the past.

A hundred million dollars sounds like an enormous prize. But it is only one percent of what kidney dialysis will otherwise cost in the next decade. It would redouble the energies of companies and researchers already interested in this problem, and if it worked, would save tens of billions before the end of the century.

⊙ *Decentralized decision-making.* The history of successful innovation and change argues against the large centralized bureaucracies that increasingly dominate health care. In the government Health Care Financing Administration, in the private Blue Cross/Blue Shield organization, and in private corporations with hospitals



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spread across the nation and in some cases across the world, too many decisions have to flow through too long a chain of command into too few senior offices. This is a system for extremely conservative defense of the past and for glacial resistance to change.

The giant national railroads could never have invented the automobile industry, because it would have taken too long for the staff committees to investigate each new invention and bring together each new idea. Instead the new industry was built by hundreds of small companies churning with ideas—there were over 400 auto companies in Michigan alone during the 1890s. Most of them failed, but they were the right size to gamble and experiment.

Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman, in their study of management, *In Search of Excellence,* argue that the big companies that do best are those that pretend they are small. These companies are systematically decentralized, so that lots of decisions can be made quickly and at minimum cost. Whenever they get a new idea, they give it to a few people to experiment with, rather than assemble a large staff to analyze it thoroughly.

So too, we need a health care system where it is relatively easy for local doctors, local hospitals, and local communities to run experiments and see what will work. With a diversity of experiments in health care, we can have three or four hundred different models across the country.

We must reward good behavior and useful breakthroughs. Today Medicare and its parent Health Care Financing Administration are essentially negative, punishment-oriented institutions. They will attack you if you make a mistake and ignore you if you do something that can revolutionize the industry.

For the last two years I have been working with Dr. Bob Lennon, an ophthalmologist in my district, to get the federal government to encourage outpatient cataract operations using lasers. Dr. Lennon convinced me that we would save between $250 million and $500 million a year if many of these operations were performed outside the hospital. Patients in cataract operations typically stay in the hospital for several days. By contrast, Dr. Lennon's patients arrive at his office on the morning of their operation and stay only until late afternoon, when they go home with a friend or relative. They drop by each day for a checkup.

Hospital associations have little interest in depriving themselves of hundreds of thousands of days of occupancy each year. Many ophthalmologists are afraid that outpatient surgery will lower their prestige. Furthermore, they reason that you can't charge as much for an operation in your offices as you can for surgery in the operating room.

This resistance could be overcome if Medicare paid ophthalmologists more for performing outpatient surgery. Why should we pay the doctor more for a less difficult technique? Because we would save the country a lot of money by keeping people out of the hospital. It is in our interest as taxpayers to overpay for specific procedures if as a result we save money for the total cost of the alternative.

• *Public knowledge.* We must be sure to get new knowledge and technology out of the hands of professionals and into the general public as rapidly as possible. Many medical treatments could be applied today by everyday citizens with the help of home computers. Some hospitals are already using videotape systems to train patients to know what to expect when they leave after a particular operation. In combination with home computers, video will give the average laymen dramatically greater learning power.

It is in everyone's interest to get individuals to do for themselves as much as possible, leaving only the most sophisticated and complex things up to the professionals. In the long run no society can afford to pay professional salaries and fees for nonprofessional work. It is simply too expensive.

The return to midwives in the delivery of babies is a good start toward decentralizing responsibility. It is leading to more informed citizens, to more self-reliance, and to a less expensive, more appropriate structure of health care professionalism.

• *Patient, family, and friends.* We cannot afford the liberal welfare state vision of the citizen as victim, combined with its overdependence on professionals and professional institutions. Teaching people that they are helpless weakens them and leads them to have less faith in their own ability to take care of themselves. Thus we enter a downward spiral, in which people depend more and more on professionals whom they can ill afford.

New technology can reverse this spiral, making it much easier for patients to convalesce or rehabilitate themselves at home, with the help of their family and friends.

Lifeline is a wrist radio about the size of a wristwatch. If wearers fall or are hurt, they can simply push a button. Their telephone is activated to an emergency team that shows up within three to five minutes. For $500 per installation and a $12 per month maintenance fee, senior citizens can stay in their own home with Lifeline instead of having to go into a nursing home. The first two months of the average nursing home's fee will pay for the installation of the system and the first four years of its use.

The second advantage to a wrist radio-telephone hookup is its impact on deterring crime. If a burglar or robber knew you had a wrist-telephone and that within three minutes an emergency squad or police car might be at the door, he might think twice about breaking and entering and robbing senior citizens. In addition to saving money, this system might actually make life safer for our grandparents.

The current Lifeline wrist-model-telephone system is in its technological infancy, equivalent to the pre-model T era for automobiles. But its potential deserves research and development. In fact, research and investment programs in home health care, home maintenance and communications, and individual citizen training could revolutionize the structure of the current hospital and nursing home system.

• *Community responsibility.* Once upon a time communities had to raise their own money for health care. If they wanted the latest x-ray machine, they had to figure



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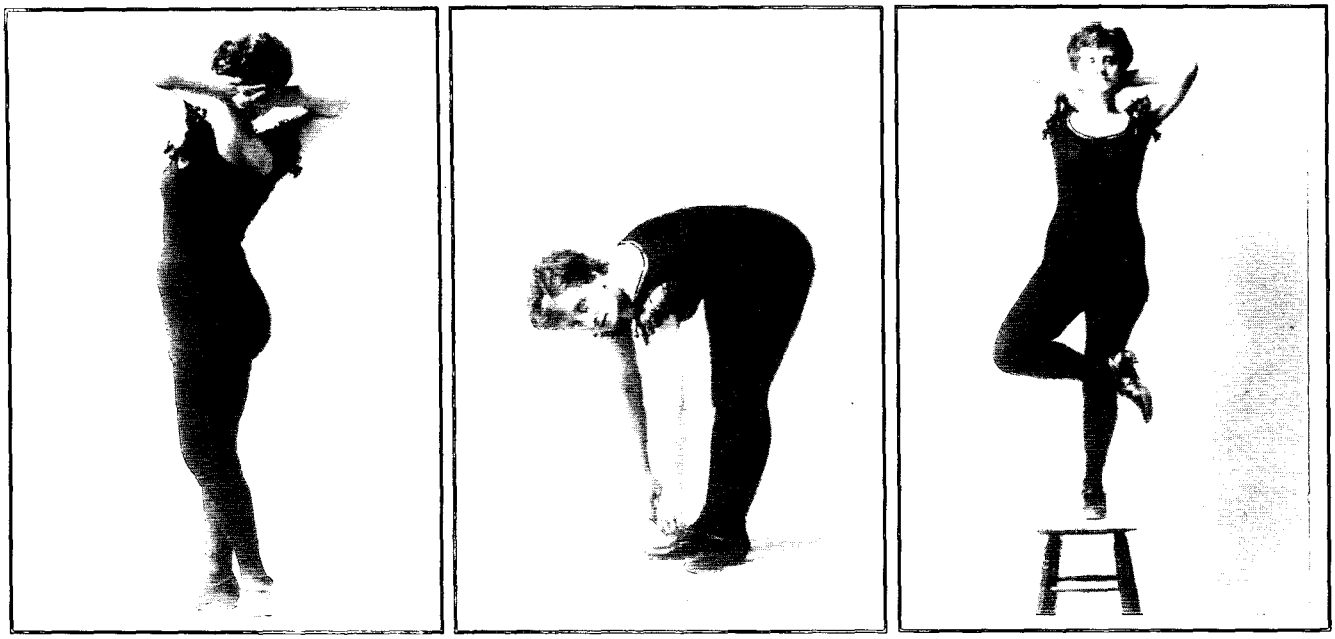

The Newt Gingrich workout book. Every citizen who avoids a heart attack saves the community money.

out how to buy it. If an expensive piece of equipment was underused, then the community suffered the consequences. It had to be more cautious the next time its medical staff came up with a good idea.

Once the federal government got into the act, everyone wanted to buy everything, because no one had the responsibility of paying for it. Local communities had no incentive not to buy every new machine that was offered. To slow the cost increases, the federal government developed planning programs that were supposed to make the process more rational and efficient.

The Health Systems Agencies were the result. Relatively uninformed, politically appointed citizens were brought together with technically informed, narrowly self-interested professionals to develop a health care plan for a large area. Major decisions on new beds or new technology had to come through these committees.

Three absolutely predictable disasters occurred.

First, the committees were rapidly politicized. Shrewd professionals simply learned to play the political games necessary to get their way. Hospital administrators boasted openly of how they wined and dined and maneuvered to get what they wanted. We had diverted emphasis from the local community deciding if it needed something, to the question of the political skills of the local community's health representative.

Second, the committees carried an automatic bias in favor of the past. Growing localities that wanted to expand their hospitals were thwarted by arguments that the region was overbedded, because older, downtown hospitals in declining population areas had too many beds. The people who staffed the agencies and really dominated them lived in upper middle class districts near good hospitals. Further, they tended to be liberals who liked downtown big city environments and thought the suburbs and small towns were gauche. There was a strong bias against new hospital beds in the politically wrong areas that needed them.

Third, the agencies were strongly biased against technology and profit. Many breakthroughs for better health care at lower cost involve superior technology. They often depend on entrepreneurial doctors who risk their own capital to buy new equipment that they think will ultimately make them money. But the Health Systems Agencies discouraged behavior that was likely to make the world better.

Consider, for example, the track record of Health Systems Agencies on CAT scanners. CAT scanners (computer assisted tomography) are the great analytical breakthrough of the last 20 years. They are for our generation what x-rays were for our grandfathers.

First-generation CAT scanners are very expensive. In order to keep down costs, the Health Systems Agencies restricted the purchase of the equipment to just a few hospitals. In a liberal welfare state that sort of planned bureaucratic rationing is considered positive and useful. It saves money. It is also nuts.

Prices will stay high as long as only a few machines are built. When the market is large enough, several manufacturers will compete to make money by building them, and the price will plummet. Furthermore, the proliferation of CAT scanners will guarantee that more repairmen will know how to maintain them, and that new uses for the equipment will be discovered, giving us a greater return on the investment. Finally, widespread use of CAT scanners will expand the quality of health care by replacing current surgical explorations, thus saving both life and money.

If you go back through the introduction of the x-ray or virtually any other major technology in 20th-century America, you will find the kind of price crash that I have posited for CAT scanners.

If we hope to continue to lead the world in inventing new medicines, machines, and processes for staying



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healthy, then we must go back to a system where local communities take on the responsibility of risk taking. We have to find ways for them to bear more of the economic burden locally—and for them to keep more of the potential profit. Thus we must break down the current central bureaucracies, including the centralized payment systems.

Doctors and hospital administrators who hate Medicare rules but love Medicare checks can't have it both ways. If the bulk of the money is going to come from big insurance companies and big government, then red tape and bureaucracy will inevitably follow.

Future answers should involve less central government both in the payment and in the red tape. We should begin to develop local-option approaches that would allow doctors, hospitals, and communities to contract out for services. If a community offers to replace Medicare for its county with a different system, we should allow it. A conservative opportunity society would explicitly encourage local options, local inventions, and local experiments.

**Within 10 years, good health habits and home care could reduce the number of hospital days by 20 percent.**

● *Replacing the third party payment system.* Our current insurance system encourages both patient and provider to be irresponsible, because neither has any direct concern for cost. People feel that because they have already paid for their insurance, the insurance owes them health care even if they don't need the care very badly or not at all.

Originally the insurance system was set up so you could put your money aside on good days to allow you to get adequate health care on bad days. When health insurance became tax-deductible, businesses provided it as a fringe benefit without much concern for cost. The insurance companies simply wanted the premiums.

Now health insurance has become a major factor in the cost of living. The dollars that businesses contribute to employee health insurance are unavailable for take-home pay or for capital investment in new factories and new tools. They add to the cost of American products and make us less competitive on the world market.

We face the same general problem as a nation. The current projections are that by the year 2000 Medicare will cost 332 billion dollars. The average worker will have to work 1.3 weeks per year just to pay for Medicare alone. The key to changing this system is to find new models of collective insurance which will provide incentives and bonuses for the right behavior.

One step would be to experiment with an individual health care account in which you would buy a catastrophic health care plan reinsured by the government. This catastrophic health care plan would ensure that no one would lose his home or go bankrupt because of a unique illness or a family tragedy. All of us are vulnerable to disaster, and only all of us together can afford to protect against this vulnerability.

The second part of the individual health care account would be a system much like an Individual Retirement Account. It would involve some coinsurance in which you bought coverage against major illnesses which were less than catastrophic but more than you could pay for out of your own health insurance dollars.

Thus you would be protected against any major illness first by your insurance company and then by your government. For the vast bulk of minor illnesses, however, you would be drawing against your own money every time you used your personal insurance account.

By having your personal insurance account operate like an investment instrument, you could look forward to an annual Christmas dividend if you didn't use up your insurance account. Many people would calculate their health needs more carefully. They would act as though they had a deductible limit, because it would pay them to avoid using the policy if they could help it.

Insurance companies might find it worthwhile to offer bonuses to people who had not used their insurance for five years or ten years. It is conceivable that the savings in paperwork because minor claims were not filed might decrease the insurance company's overhead enough to pay for rather large five and ten year bonuses while still making a profit.

Individualizing the insurance program for health care brings the cost factor directly back into the marketplace between the citizen and the health care provided. It also increases the citizen's self-interest in good health. People who know that another year without hospitalization might bring them a thousand dollar bonus may watch their diet and exercise a little more carefully.

This process of shifting the system will pay only small bonuses at first, but as a process it will lead to dramatic change over 10 to 15 years.

Given a decade to adapt, doctors will be more cost competitive. There will be consumer guides for hospitalization. Home health care systems will offer ways to take care of yourself in everything but major illnesses. If we shift the focus of government to wellness and to self-care, and if we develop methods of bringing the citizen-patient back into the equation, we will end the spiral in health care costs. If in addition we eliminate the great bureaucracies, I think we will see a flowering of new opportunities for citizens to be cared for and educated into leading long and healthy lives at reasonable costs.



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# A Handful of Idealists Changed the Nation!

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**Contribute to committees...**

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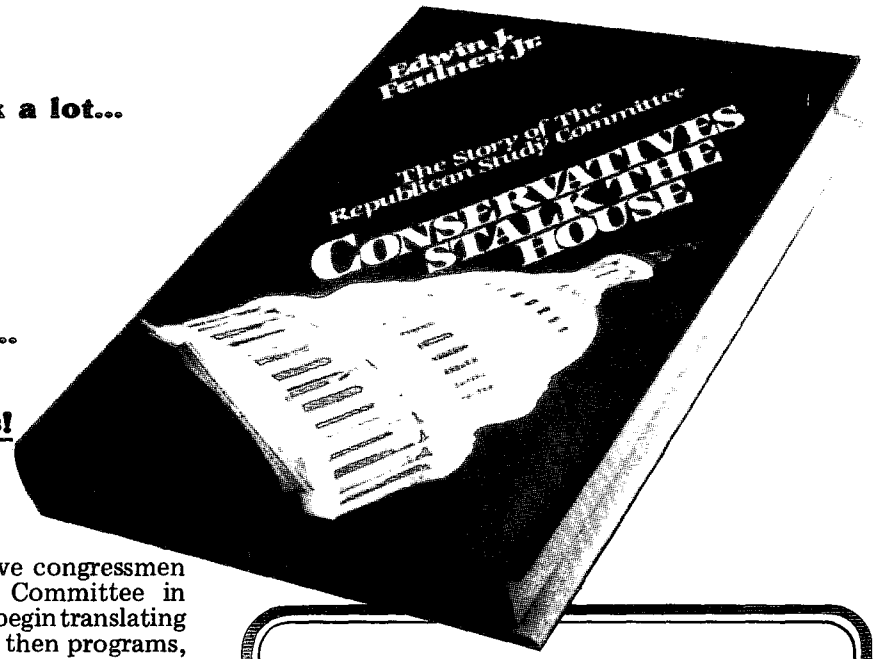


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# "Gee, Officer Krupke"

## *And Other Barriers to Excellence in the Schoolroom*

**Chester E. Finn, Jr.**

The United States is in the midst of a huge educational reform movement. The public schools are its primary object of attention, excellence is its rallying cry, and quality is its watchword. As yet this movement has achieved few tangible results of the kind that actually matter—how much and how well are our children learning. But there is on all sides a degree of ferment, policy innovation, reformist zeal, and public interest that has not been witnessed in American education for at least two decades, possibly never before in this century.

Why is this now occurring? The explanation is not, as many suppose, that the National Commission on Excellence in Education and the myriad other commissions, task forces, study groups, and scholarly critiques of the past year have manufactured a "crisis." Rather, they tapped into a deep and wide reservoir of public discontent with the quality of American education that had been accumulating for many years.

For at least the past 15 years, the American people have been handed ever-increasing evidence that the nation's children are not learning what they should in school and college. We have witnessed a decline in the average scores on such gauges as the Scholastic Aptitude Test, combined with a sharp reduction in the number of high-scoring youngsters; a parade of semiliterate, sometimes functionally illiterate, "graduates" from high schools and, occasionally, from colleges and universities; and disorder and disruption in the schools themselves. Employers find that their new employees lack not only job-related skills (which most employers expect to supply) but also the most basic cognitive skills and knowledge; and the military has had to "dumb down" its training manuals and instruction books.

### The Winds Are Blowing

The current reform movement started in the late 1970s when "back to basics" became a popular slogan for educational change. One state after another began to require that all students pass a "minimum competency" or "proficiency" test before receiving high-school diplomas.

But the pace of reform has accelerated in recent months, spurred by two sets of developments. First, a cadre of governors, legislative leaders, business executives, newspaper editors, and influential private citizens concluded that drastic action must be taken to overhaul the schools if only to create the highly skilled workforce that will be necessary to compete successfully in a postindustrial world. This perception dawned first in the South—never before a hotbed of educational innovation—but has now spread across the land.

Second, the various national commissions, task forces, and studies have articulated and legitimized the public discontent with education and have done so in stern but stirring words, particularly from the National Commission on Excellence in Education. The advocacy of higher educational standards no longer brands one an elitist, a reactionary, or a racist.

Because the educational forest was so dry and the winds were already blowing in the right direction, these sparks ignited a reform blaze that has spread like wildfire. Nearly every state and community is feeling the heat, and a surprising number are responding. A majority of state legislatures are considering school-reform proposals of various kinds, often initiated by the governors, and many are contemplating the addition of sizeable amounts of money to state education budgets. The measures vary greatly in their particulars, but all are aimed at imposing more exacting intellectual standards for students and teachers. The comprehensive reform act recently signed into law in my own state of Tennessee is the boldest, farthest-reaching, and costliest education measure ever adopted in the Volunteer State.

There have, to be sure, been earlier educational reform movements in the United States. But I submit that today's "excellence movement" differs from its predecessors in three important ways.

First, the movement is almost exclusively concerned with educational outcomes rather than school inputs or processes. It may willingly tinker with how schools are

CHESTER E. FINN, JR. *is Professor of Education and Public Policy at Vanderbilt University.* *This essay is based on an address given at the Philadelphia Society in April.*



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organized, staffed, and financed, as well as with how youngsters spend their days and what is required of them, but it regards these only as means to certain desired ends. The reform movement is, therefore, quite catholic as to means—much to the horror of education professionals who regard such things dogmatically—and will try almost any approach that it has reason to believe will work better. Similarly, it adamantly refuses to pour additional resources into the status quo, unless persuaded that the results will be markedly different.

Second, the excellence movement is decentralized. The federal government had practically nothing to do with starting it (save for appointing the commission) and will have little influence on its progress. The Department of Education, necessarily concerned with the sensibilities of the education profession, is half-apologetic and almost completely without imagination about how its $15 billion a year might foster higher standards. (The tiny education division of the National Endowment for the Humanities has, however, been tireless, inventive, and bold in these matters, under the leadership of Endowment Chairman William Bennett.) Moreover, the major national organizations in and around the field of education have ranged from hesitant to hostile in their responses to this movement; certainly they have not led or aided it. Instead, the reform impulse is centered in the state capitols, in many local communities, in the private sector, and among a few widely dispersed intellectuals.

Third, this movement is primarily led by laymen and elected officials, not by education professionals. It is as close to a populist reform as anything I can recall, and we can therefore understand why it's making many of the professionals jittery. For a long time, public education in the United States was not really under "civilian control"; its policy-making processes as well as its management were dominated by its own professionals and their organizations. The excellence movement, however, is the object of intense public scrutiny and political involvement by elected officials who are responsive to public sentiment but who have no institutional, organizational, or professional interests in education per se. If one wants a mental image for the transformation of the policy arena, it is useful to visualize the old coalition of teachers' union chief, education professor, and local school superintendent being displaced by the governor, the speaker of the house, and the state's major business leaders and newspaper editors.

Professional educators are wary, suspicious, and a bit resentful. The excellence movement was not their idea. They are not in charge of it. All sorts of previously uninterested but extremely powerful people are suddenly poking around in their schools and colleges, insufficiently respectful of long-established practice and inordinately willing to shake things up.

Yet if the education profession turns its wariness and jealousy into massive resistance, the excellence movement will not achieve much. In time, the commissions will stop reporting, the newspapers will stop watching closely, the governors and legislators will turn to prison reform or groundwater supplies, and the business leaders will return to their companies. The implementation of real changes in the practices of educational institutions will, whether we like it or not, be primarily the responsibility of the professionals who administer and teach in them—and of those who edit the journals, teach the teachers, steer the associations, and otherwise set the tone for the profession as a whole. If these people refuse to make the changes that the lay leaders of the excellence movement have asked for, very little excellence will ensue. (That is a short-run prediction. Such resistance will also play right into the hands of radical reformers—of both left and right—and in time could well lead to the demise of public education in anything resembling its familiar form. Whether its replacement would be an improvement is, of course, impossible to predict.)

### Prison Camp Alternatives

It is important, therefore, to understand the sources of the education profession's resistance to the excellence movement, if only to be better able to devise strategies for allaying or overpowering that resistance. I will sketch 10 sources that seem to me important. Doubtless there are more. I do not suggest that all professional educators are influenced by all 10, nor indeed that all leaders of the profession are resisting. One need only look at the remarkable achievements of California's Bill Honig, Charlotte-Mecklenburg's Jay Robinson, and several dozen others to realize that there are some towering exceptions within the profession. But they are exceptions.

First and most obvious, the education enterprise, like most others, is riven by institutional and organizational vested interests, many of which are seriously threatened by the changes the excellence movement is promoting. Some of these are well known. The colleges of education, for example, have clear and strong interests in continuing to be the primary route into the teaching occupation, just as the big teachers' organizations have manifest interests in the ancient union doctrine that says all employees must be treated—and compensated—alike even though some do more or better work than others. But there are also less obvious factions *within* the profession that over the years have achieved a measure of compromise and accommodation with one another that is menaced by today's destabilizing reforms. It is easy to get a roomful of educators to agree that schools have been asked to assume too many peripheral responsibilities, that the curriculum contains too many nonintellectual electives, and that not enough is expected academically of students. But just try to purge the curriculum of driver education or "family living," to consign cheerleading and psychological counseling to after-school hours, or to increase graduation requirements in academic subjects and thereby leave less time for vocational education, and watch the factions feud! Education is like a pen packed with longhorned oxen, none of which can move (or be moved) very far without goring another.

Second, the education profession is sorely troubled by the prospect that anyone might actually *fail*. It habitually regards student failure as morally wrong, psychologically damaging, potentially discriminatory, and, perhaps, tending to reflect poorly on the prowess of the educators who taught the youngsters that failed. Accord-



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ingly, the profession will do practically anything to avoid situations in which some may be seen to fail—including the virtual abolition of expectations and criteria. That is why most school systems still engage in variants of the practice of "social promotion," passing youngsters on from one grade to the next on the basis of age rather than intellectual attainment. Yet inherent in the excellence movement is the concept of *standards,* and built into the idea of standards is the risk that some will not achieve them, and hence will be judged to have failed.

Third, the education profession is surprisingly reluctant to prescribe what youngsters should actually learn—surprising, because one might have supposed that making such prescriptions was the foremost responsibility of a professional educator. This reluctance is least visible with respect to basic cognitive skills—the "three Rs"—in the primary grades, but it intensifies as one moves into issues of required curricular content in the upper grades, and it becomes shrill and insistent over questions of what *values* should be inculcated by the schools—indeed whether any should be. (Sometimes the profession manifests deep ambivalence even about curricular matters that virtually everyone else takes for granted. The March 1984 issue of *N.E.A. Today,* the major monthly publication of the National Education Association, received by roughly two-thirds of all schoolteachers, contains a serious "pro-con" debate about the elimination of English *grammar* from the obligatory parts of the school curriculum.) Yet if the excellence movement stands for anything, it stands for the proposition that the schools and colleges should be much more exacting in their specification of what students need to know, the intellectual skills they need to acquire, and the fundamental values they ought to assimilate.

*The education profession will do almost anything to avoid situations where some students fail—including the virtual abolition of expectations and criteria.*

Fourth, the education profession is unpersuaded that the United States possesses a common or shared culture into which all children, regardless of background and family heritage, should be initiated by the public schools. That uncertainty helps to explain the disputes about mandating specific curricular content and particular works of literature, and also helps explain why it is easier to gain consensus among educators about cognitive skills (and those subjects, such as math and science, that are not so freighted with culture) than about the proper content of courses in the humanities, social sciences, and arts. Thus, the concept of "cultural literacy," as set forth by E. D. Hirsch, Jr. in his magisterial essay of the same title, is a veritable bombshell within the education profession, even though most of the public—and certainly the leaders of the excellence movement—take it so much for granted as to wonder why a distinguished literary scholar would even bother writing about it.

Fifth, the education profession is obsessed with what it construes as the trade-off between "excellence" and "equality" in the schools. The fear is that raising standards (or, in extreme versions, having any standards at all) will tend to discriminate against certain historically disadvantaged groups in the society, presumably because they are less likely to attain the prescribed standards. There must be no separating of sheep from goats or men from boys according to standards of excellence because to do so is to discriminate; and to discriminate in any way, even on the basis of merit or individual accomplishment, is to undermine the principle of equity. I do not want to minimize the problems that will arise if a sudden and sizable elevation of standards for students or teachers produces a high incidence of failure that is concentrated among low-income people or among the members of certain minority groups. But not to strive for educational excellence on grounds that members of some groups are bound to fail is fundamentally illiberal, demeaning, condescending, and probably racist. Few educators think of themselves in those terms. Yet that is the ineluctable result of allowing excellence to be pitted against equality in some imaginary zero-sum contest. The opposite of excellence, we must never forget, is mediocrity.

Sixth, the education profession, like others, assumes that nothing can be done differently or better without spending more money. This leads to the conviction that educational excellence is necessarily and inherently a high-cost proposition, not worth considering unless vast new sums are available to lavish on it. The excellence movement, by contrast, while willing enough to spend more for substantially better educational results, starts with different assumptions. Its leaders have deduced that imposing, even enforcing, higher standards in and of themselves need not cost another penny. What may cost a lot more money is providing the materials and the coaching necessary for an acceptable proportion of the population to *attain* those higher standards. (Alternatively, one can imagine achieving similar results through coercive means, even if one would find them unacceptable. It's remarkable how many people would learn algebra and spelling—perhaps at no cost whatsoever—if the alternative were a prison camp or firing squad. That is why totalitarian societies often have uniformly high rates of educational achievement at remarkably low monetary cost.) Hence, the excellence movement has learned that although dollar costs may attach to the actual achievement of higher standards (and may thus be calculated in relation to what one regards as tolerable rates of failure), the establishment and enforcement of standards do not themselves carry such costs. Poll results show that the public is willing to spend more money for significantly different educational outcomes, but not for what it regards as "more of the same." This is very nearly the opposite of the assumptions held by the profession.

Seventh, the education professionals have woven an



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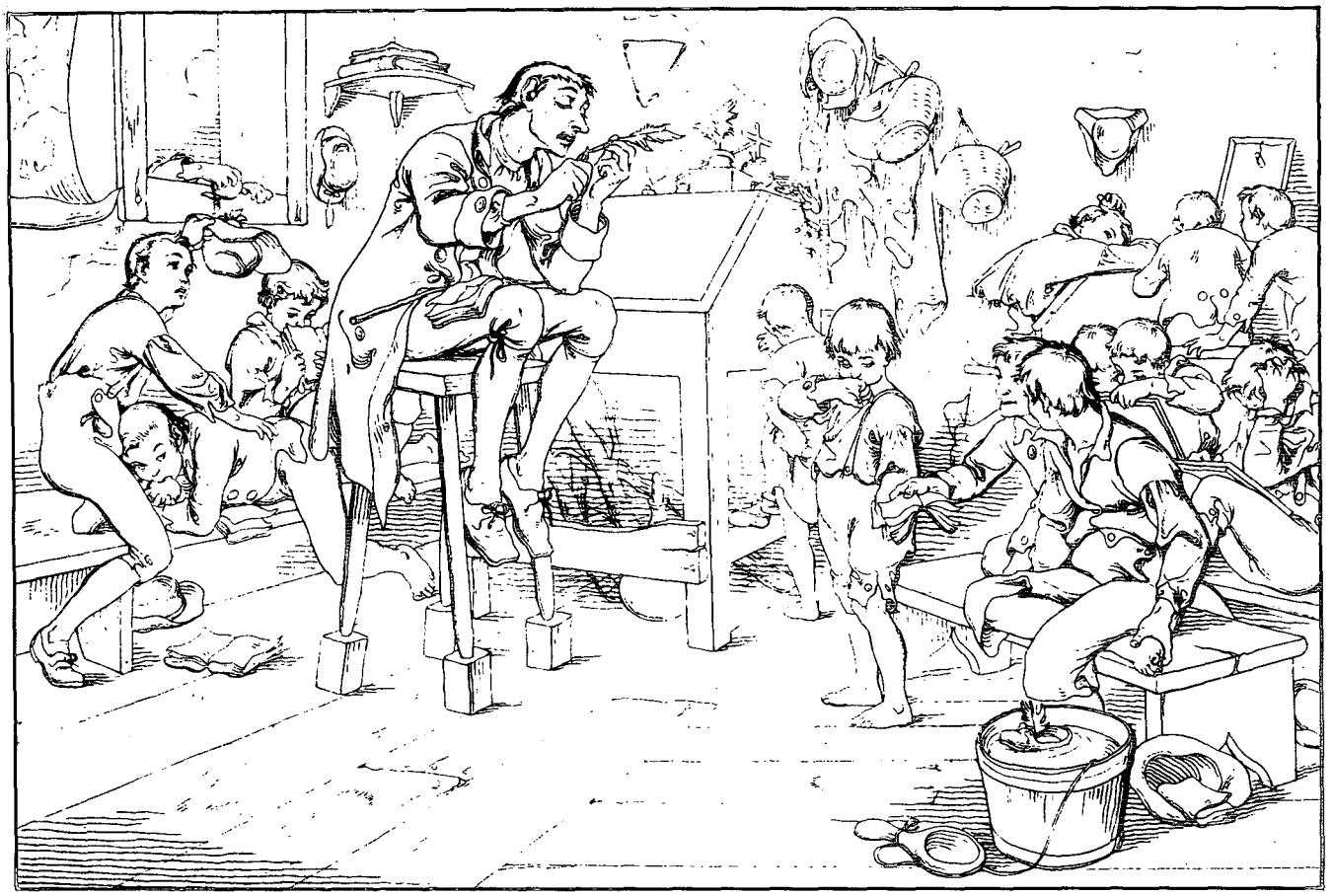

**Implementation of reforms will depend on professional educators.**

elaborate tapestry of beliefs and explanations enabling them to deflect accountability for what happens in schools. My favorite is the one I call "Gee, Officer Krupke": Our society is riddled with problems that those of us in the schools are powerless to solve. Consider how the rising divorce rate, the widespread use of drugs, the fear of nuclear war, etcetera etcetera affect the minds and psyches of the children we are supposed to teach. Why, we have all we can do to make it through the day with them and they with us. It isn't fair to blame us that they aren't well educated. We're only educators.

A variant on that theme may be understood as "willed helplessness." It resounded loudly through a recent poll of the nation's school-board members who were asked to list their largest concerns in education. To an astonishing degree, their premier concerns involved matters over which they had little or no control—the parsimonious fiscal policies of the city council, the high level of parental apathy, and so forth. The issues over which school boards themselves wield vast authority—what is taught, by whom, and how well—came only fifth and sixth on their list. This suggests that school-board members, like the professional educators who staff their schools, have persuaded themselves that the most influential forces at work upon the schools are forces beyond their control. But once you have convinced yourself of that, you have also exonerated yourself of responsibility for the educational outcomes that your schools produce.

Educators are right to refuse to be held accountable for rectifying all of society's woes. Schools are weak instruments to mend broken families, heal wounded psyches, or inculcate middle-class values in every youngster, let alone to clean up the water supply or make peace between the superpowers. The education profession cannot be held accountable for whether Johnny becomes a good father, husband, and employee; or even, indeed, for whether he completes school. But it can and must be expected to assume responsibility for whether school children learn to read and cipher, whether they ever encounter Shakespeare, and whether they understand what impelled the Declaration of Independence.

### Marketplace or Common Learning

Eighth, there is within the education profession—and within the excellence movement as well—a deep-seated ambivalence, verging on schizophrenia, about what an ideal educational system would look like. The ambivalence is so strong that I believe many of today's perplexities and conflicts about school reform can be traced to this confusion. There are two distinctive versions, each with immense appeal and each with influential adherents. The first, which I associate with Mortimer Adler and *The Paideia Proposal,* holds that every American youngster should attend essentially the same school, learn essentially the same things, and be held to essentially the same standards. Though criticized for excessive



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regimentation and homogenization, this is a boldly democratic conception, evoking the "common school" ideal of the 19th century, enlisting the doctrines of color blindness and equality, and drawing upon Mr. Hirsch's insight that only when we have a shared core of cultural literacy can we effectively communicate with one another. All children are alike; all are Americans; all should be treated alike in school without regard for ethnicity, religion, wealth, or personality.

The alternative vision, which may be thought of as encouraging a thousand educational flowers to bloom, is one of maximum diversity, competition, and choice within and among schools. Its adherents—including supporters of vouchers and tuition tax credits, the leaders of most private schools, and a handful of liberal reformers—believe that democracy is best served, individual differences best recognized, family influence over child-rearing best safeguarded, and school quality best promoted if the educational system functions like a marketplace. Schools would differ one from another—the more they differ the better—and parents would select the schools they believe best satisfy the educational, emotional, and moral requirements of their children. Opponents naturally charge that such a system would reinforce preexisting differences within the society, would favor the rich and wellborn, would deny youngsters the opportunity to sit in class next to children different from themselves, would lead some to get markedly better educations than others, and would transform public education into some sort of amalgam of the Fulton Fish Market and the Tower of Babel.

*Poll results show that the public is willing to spend more money for significantly different educational outcomes, but not for what it regards as "more of the same."*

I admit to partaking of the general ambivalence. Roughly half my own zeal for educational excellence vibrates sympathetically to each of these reformist rhythms. That's not to say every member of the education profession is similarly confused; many clearly prefer one tempo or the other. But the profession as a whole is dancing to different beats. And I have yet to encounter a satisfactory blending of the two approaches. One instinctively envisions a common curricular "core" for all schools, outside of which they would be encouraged to differ and to compete. But to get that core large enough to accommodate the devotees of a "common culture" is not to leave enough room for schools to differ very much from each other; and to encourage wholesale educational competition is to remove the strictures that all schools must in certain central respects be identical.

Ninth, one finds within the education profession, particularly in its higher elevations, an attitude toward school teaching that verges on contempt. At a recent symposium at Brown University, a young woman, a senior at Brown, prefaced her question to Diane Ravitch with, "My faculty advisor tells me that I am too smart to become a teacher. . . ." This was not an isolated incident. Teaching is neither a high-status occupation nor a well-compensated one today. It is, however, the core of the educational enterprise, and it is experiencing very rapid turnover. Roughly one million of the 2.2 million individuals who will be school teachers in 1990 are not teaching today. Who will they be? And how can we conceivably begin to reconstruct this occupation into one that attracts some of our ablest citizens if the education profession itself counsels them away from it, if the teachers' colleges and state bureaucracies preserve the foolish and time-consuming requirements that presently govern entry into the profession, if the unions continue to insist that outstanding teachers must be compensated the same as mediocre ones—and that dreadful teachers must never have their "tenure" violated or their "seniority" impaired.

**Hostility**

Tenth, besides the excellence movement, several other political agendas are competing for the profession's attention and for influence over the minds of school children. By far the most pernicious of these—and the one the education profession seems most swayed by—is the attempt first to use the classroom to deepen children's fear of nuclear war, and then to exploit that fear in the political arena on behalf of the so-called freeze movement.

Even the celebrated progressive educator, A. S. Neill, counseled against fighting adult battles in children's classrooms and against the recruitment of students into the various "isms" that captivate their teachers. But the education profession today, while showing ample resistance to the excellence movement, displays little resistance to the politicization of schooling. The youngsters may never be expected to read Thucydides, Caesar, Tolstoy, or Churchill on the causes and the nature of war and peace. But they will learn to write letters to their congressmen, to send petitions to the White House, and to march in front of the courthouse on behalf of disarmament.

The education profession, in short, is far from inert or oblivious to what is going on in the world around it. But what is striking is that among the most pronounced developments in *that* world is one of the strongest education reform movements in memory—a movement that was not started by the education profession, is not now being led by it, and is in many respects an object of disquiet and hostility on the part of the profession.

We can be grateful to the governors, business leaders, and individual professionals who were perceptive and brave enough to note that the education emperor was wearing tatters, and who have been doing their best to garb him in something more substantial. But what are they to do—and what are we to do—if he keeps taking off his clothes?



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# Around the States

## *Bill Honig's Balancing Act*

"The educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity." In April 1983, with these apocalyptic tones President Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education catapulted the state of our nation's schools into a major national issue.

Since then cries for educational "reform" have filled the air—often from the same interest groups and experts who until a year ago smugly praised American schools "as the envy of the enlightened world."

State after state has scrambled to analyze the shortcomings of their schools and attempt to upgrade standards. According to Representative Steve Bartlett (R-Texas), a member of the House Education and Labor Committee, state education spending has risen 7 percent in the last year—and this in an era of tight state budgets.

Joseph Rodota, in the public-affairs office of the Department of Education, reports that "there has been a virtual explosion of interest in improving the quality of education." Since or just prior to the issuance of the commission's report, "A Nation at Risk":

- 50 states have education task forces in existence.
- 44 states have increased high school graduation requirements.
- 42 states have revised teacher preparation and certification programs.
- 35 states are assessing student evaluation and testing.
- 33 states are in the process of creating master teacher programs.
- 25 states are raising state college admission requirements.
- 20 states are about to adopt some form of merit pay program.
- More than half of the school districts in the country have increased the number of credits needed to graduate in the basic subjects of English, science, and mathematics.

Nowhere has the pace of change in education been greater than in California, long known as a national trend setter and incubator for public policy experiments. The California public-school system is a gigantic laboratory: more than 1,000 independent districts, 7,321 schools, 169,000 teachers, and more than 4 million students.

In 1982, California voters anticipated public concern over deteriorating educational standards in the rest of the country by ousting three-term Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles in favor of a lean, ascetic lawyer-turned-educator named Bill Honig, 46, who campaigned on a platform of "shaking up" the public schools and steering them away from any roles as "substitute parents or babysitters."

A liberal Republican, Mr. Honig tapped a vein of public anger at the soaring cost of public education that has coincided with plummeting Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. In the last decade, the verbal SAT scores of college-bound California seniors dropped a full 43 points, from 464 in 1972 to 421 in 1983. A statewide Field Poll taken in 1981 asked respondents to rate 34 public institutions. Public schools came in third from the very bottom, just ahead of oil companies and the welfare bureaucracy.

Mr. Honig infuriated both the Right and the Left in his expensive media campaign. Although he championed a back-to-basics approach to learning, he was a staunch opponent of the tuition tax credit or voucher plans supported by conservatives. The California Teachers Association, which has poured more than $1 million into state races since 1978, was appalled at Mr. Honig's assertion that 15 percent of teachers were incompetent and that laws should be changed to make it easier to fire poor instructors.

### What Can Johnny Do?

Within seven months of taking office, Mr. Honig was able to outmaneuver both tight-fisted Republican Governor George Deukmejian and the Democratic-controlled legislature by pushing through the first real increase in funding for the public schools since Proposition 13's passage in 1978. The education bill increased state support for education from $7.7 billion to $8.5 billion. The measure was also a delicate balancing act between conservative and liberal priorities for education.

Included were several steps that have been urged for years by the Republican minority in the legislature, such as:

- New regulations making it easier to discipline students who are chronic troublemakers and to discharge ineffective teachers.
- Incentive programs for school districts to increase the average school year from 175 to 180 days a year. From kindergarten through high school, California students currently spend an average of a year and a half less in class than the national average.
- A tightening of requirements for earning a high-school diploma so that graduating students will



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have taken at least four years of English, two years of science and mathematics, and three years of social science. Mr. Honig hopes to add a required course in "Individual Freedom and Civic Responsibility."

Mr. Honig was able to persuade the teachers' unions to swallow many of these provisions by sweetening the pot with many of their own pet goals:

- School districts will be able to select up to 5 percent of their instructors as "mentor teachers," who would receive $4,000 a year extra to help improve the skills of new or incompetent teachers.
- Starting pay for teacher salaries, now averaging $14,000 a year, will be increased to $18,000 to $20,000 over three years. John Mocklar, education adviser to Democratic Assembly Speaker Willie Brown, says the increased beginning salaries "will halt the exodus of bright, committed people who want to teach but wind up in private industry so they can feed their families."

Attempts to require current teachers to take a basic-skills competency test in mathematics, English grammar, and essay writing were fought off. Under current law all new teachers seeking certification in California, along with full-time teachers seeking administrative posts, have to take such a test. To date, 31 percent of new teachers and 37 percent of sitting teachers have failed the test. Privacy provisions allow current teachers who fail the test to go back to teaching with no penalty. "The education community believes that so-called accountability tests are just thinly veiled efforts to shift the blame for bad home lifes and ghetto conditions away from politicians to the teachers," says one former official of the California Teachers Association. "Teachers are only as good as the children they're given and hounding them with nitpicking tests will only lower their morale."

Bill Whitehurst, an aide to State Senator Gary Hart (D–Santa Barbara), who authored the competency test legislation, says "the teachers' unions have made their peace with the basic-skills test as long as the methods of dealing with poor scores are left up to them."

Mr. Honig is now seeking to create a Quality Education Foundation, made up of 10,000 citizens around the state who will lobby for educational reforms and increased funding at the local level.

Gene Prat, a professional educator who ran against Mr. Honig for superintendent in 1982, says that the reforms "are a fig leaf to cover up the vastly increased spending for schools." Mr. Prat contends that more money only encourages perpetuation of an inefficient, bloated education bureaucracy. "We have 12 percent or 500,000 fewer students in school than in 1970," he says. "But we have 81,000 more school employees—87 per 1,000 students today compared to 68 school employees per 1,000 students in 1970. We spend over $3,000 a year on education for each child in California. The more money we spend the less we get unless we shake up the system, something Honig will never do."

Mr. Honig believes a temporary quarter-cent sales tax or increased corporate tax might be necessary because "we are going to need 150,000 to 200,000 new teachers in California in the next 10 years." However, he scoffs at those who blame Howard Jarvis's tax cuts for declining school standards. "Proposition 13 did not cause a deterioration in the schools . . . Johnny can't read, write and compute because we haven't expected him to do enough of it. Children being children, they're going to take advantage of our lowered expectations."

Mr. Honig hopes to raise expectations through a Golden State high school diploma program, patterned after New York State's Regents Scholars program. Such a diploma would be granted only after vigorous examinations in academic subjects and would grant holders access to additional financial aid money for college.

The new superintendent is widely suspected of having political ambitions, and Sal Russo, Governor Deukmejian's deputy chief of staff, believes he is already running for governor. He has become a favored intellectual guru to neoliberals who have little patience with the demands of teachers' unions. Mr. Honig was a featured speaker at the first neoliberal conference in Reston, Virginia, last year, where *Washington Monthly* Editor Charles Peters said, "Bill Honig is the most interesting figure in American education today and after [Secretary of Education] Terrel Bell, the most important."

*Nowhere has the pace of change in education been greater than in California, long known as a national trend setter and incubator for public policy experiments.*

The eclectic mix of journalists, public-interest lawyers, and academics who dominate the neoliberal movement find Mr. Honig simpatico. Seeing the economic pie of the booming 60s shrink, they are more willing than previous liberals to challenge the encrusted spending constituencies of the Democratic party. They are impatient with demands for privilege from labor-union bosses and public educators. They find that government by and for the special-interest liberal spending groups is often as alien and hostile to them as those of business-oriented Republicans.

To them Mr. Honig is an appealing figure who challenges the old guard of teachers' unions and administrators in favor of a more in-



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tellectual, results-oriented approach. "The education battle in California is between those whose major goal is earlier tenure and bigger paychecks and liberal reformers who are challenging them for the first time," says Robert Lynch, a former board member of the Los Rios Community College District. "The establishment woke up one day and saw there weren't going to be any decent public schools to send their kids to unless they corrected the abuses."

### Loops and Detours

What direction will the battle over public education take in California, and perhaps the rest of the country, in coming years? Stephen Rhoads, Republican education consultant to the assembly's ways and means committee, believes that the days of the independent school district may be numbered and will probably end first in the Golden State. "As funding for schools has shifted to the state level because of Proposition 13, so have calls for more state oversight of abuse," Mr. Rhoads says. "We will probably see more regional education centers and less input at the local level, much as has already been done in Hawaii."

California may also see the first clash between an energized public desire for better schools and continued antitax sentiment. Howard Jarvis, the octogenarian gadfly of tax-cutting fame, has just qualified an initiative for this November's ballot that would plug loopholes he says liberal courts have drilled in Proposition 13. Passage of the Jarvis initiative would take more than $1.2 million out of local government coffers. "Much of the tax base of cities and counties would evaporate," says Robert Fairbanks, editor of the *California Journal*. "It would mean a titanic fight over where budget cuts would come and the local school districts would probably have to get all their funding from state government."

Mr. Jarvis contends that his measure would not harm the schools, pointing to provisions of the state constitution that require education funding to be given top priority by the legislature. But if "Son of Proposition 13" is approved by voters, it will likely mean the detouring, if not the derailing, of Superintendent Honig's "agenda for excellence" in education.

John H. Fund

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JOHN H. FUND *is a reporter for syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak.*

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# PEACE STUDIES

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by Caroline Cox & Roger Scruton

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It should not be confused with its apparent innocuous purpose – that of encouraging tolerance and teaching children to settle their disputes through peaceful words and gestures. This purpose is better understood in terms of the traditional concept of good manners. It will then be realised that it has always been a part of education and that it is never less likely to be taught well than when confused with the problems of political and military analysis."

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# Baby Feat

## *More Newborns Are Surviving Infancy Than Ever Before*

**Carol Adelman**

Of all the achievements of the 20th century, perhaps the most heartwarming is the dramatic decline of infant mortality.

It is hard to imagine the grief that so often afflicted families a hundred years ago. Opera star Enrico Caruso, born in Naples in 1873, was his mother's 18th child and the first to survive infancy. At the turn of the century, one of every seven babies born in North America and Western Europe died before his first birthday.

Today, in Western Europe, North America, and some Asian countries, that rate has fallen to one in a hundred. The best record is in Sweden and Japan, where only seven of every 1,000 newborns die in the first year of life; in Taiwan only nine of every 1,000 infants die; in Australia only 10. In the United States, the infant mortality rate has fallen from 120 per 1,000 in 1900, to 60 in 1930, to 26 in 1960, to 12.6 in 1980. It is still falling, and provisional figures show that it reached 10.9 by the end of 1983. The death rate is distressingly higher among blacks—20 per 1,000 in 1981—yet it has been declining at the same rate as for whites.

In the poorer countries of the world as well, UNICEF reports that infant deaths dropped by 50 percent in only 25 years. Infant mortality rates such as 28 per 1,000 in Jamaica, 37 in Sri Lanka, and 54 in the Philippines are roughly the same as in the United States and Western Europe in the 1940s and 1950s.

### Spectacular Advances

According to the World Health Organization, the Soviet Union is the only exception to the steady and sustained downward trend in the developed countries. Despite a statistical blackout—after their rate began to rise in 1972, the Soviets removed their infant mortality column from their annual book of statistics—demographers have determined that between 1971 and 1979 the infant death rate in the U.S.S.R. rose from 26 to 39, over three times the U.S. rate and higher than both North and South Korea as well as most of the Caribbean island countries. Soviet officials acknowledged the rise but, along with several researchers in the United States, attributed it simply to better reporting. Murray Feschbach, demographer and professional Soviet watcher at the Georgetown Center for Population Research, argues otherwise—he blames poor child health care, influenza, feeding deficiencies, pollution, and widespread and frequent abortions, which may make it more difficult for a woman to give birth to healthy babies later on. (In the early 1970s, at the time of the rise in infant deaths, the average Soviet woman had more than five abortions during her lifetime.) The Soviet infant mortality rate has finally resumed its earlier decline. At roughly 30 deaths per 1,000 live births, it is now close to the U.S. rate of 35 years ago.

Among the richer western countries, the successful campaign against infant mortality can be divided into two periods. From 1900 to the 1950s, the most spectacular progress resulted from improvements in sanitation, nutrition, and hygiene. Since the 1960s, it has been principally due to advances in medical technology, particularly in the care of high risk pregnancies and newborn babies.

At the turn of the century, the leading causes of infant deaths in Europe and America were diarrhea, pneumonia, and other infectious diseases. Before the advent of antibiotics and vaccines, about the only way to keep a baby from dying was to keep him from getting sick in the first place and about the only way to do that was to keep the germs away from him. In the countryside, this was possible for families whose wells weren't polluted and whose personal habits were reasonably hygienic. Breastfeeding, much more common among rural mothers, gave babies higher resistance to disease by improving their nutrition and transmitting natural antibodies.

In the crowded cities, death rates were higher. Polluted water supplies brought cholera, typhoid fever, and other debilitating intestinal diseases to babies whose resistance was often lowered by malnutrition. Sanitation was poor and rats carried diseases from one family to another. Infection spread easily through human contact as well. In

CAROL ADELMAN, *a health and nutrition consultant in Washington, recently completed a doctorate in public health from the Johns Hopkins University.*



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addition, dust and coal smoke partially blocked out ultraviolet sun rays, contributing to widespread epidemics of vitamin D deficiency rickets.

### Tiny Babies

In the battle against infant deaths, improved sanitation and better nutrition were the most important weapons. The chlorination of water supplies in the 1880s killed malignant bacteria. Since urban mothers had largely abandoned breastfeeding for 12-hour factory days, the development of safe and nutritious substitutes was crucial in keeping babies alive. Processed baby food and modern infant formula, along with vitamin-enriched milk, improved infant nutrition even as breastfeeding all but vanished. The simple kitchen icebox, commonplace by the 1900s, preserved food from harmful bacteria, as did adding a few drops of lemon juice or vinegar to milk.

Conditions in the developing nations aren't all that different from those in 19th-century Europe and America. Children still die from disease and malnutrition, although famine is much more important, and tragic, than it was in the industrializing West. The major difference between Africa and most of Asia today and Europe and America a century ago is that Third-World babies have much better chances of survival if they are born in the cities rather than the countryside. This situation, the World Health Organization says:

> is characteristic of countries where urban areas adopted a life style completely different from that of the rural areas; one that was extensively imported from Europe, which largely benefits from modern medical techniques, and enjoys a higher living standard than the rest of the country.

With the near-eradication of infectious diseases in the richer countries, infant mortality today is principally connected with low birthweight and congenital defects. Indeed over 60 percent of all infants who die in the first year of life in the United States weigh less than five and one-half pounds at birth (the threshold for what doctors refer to as low birthweight). Over two-thirds of all infant deaths in the United States now occur in the first month of life, and the majority of these babies, in contrast to the developing world, are born with the affliction that kills them—for example, low birthweight, congenital abnormality, genetic disease or injury at birth.

During the last 20 years or so, most of the continued decline in infant mortality in the United States has been attributed to medical advances enabling low birthweight babies to survive, particularly intensive care units for newborns, Rh immune globulin administration, electronic fetal monitoring, and ultrasound and other intrauterine diagnostic techniques. The technological advances that have improved the chances of underweight infants are not without their costs. In the best of cases, parents bring home a healthy child and thousands of dollars in hospital bills. In the worst, the child suffers the severe mental and physical handicaps that occur in at least 10 percent of all underweight babies. But hundreds of thousands of tiny babies now survive. Not more than a

**Opera star Enrico Caruso, widely considered the greatest tenor of the century, was his mother's 18th child and the first to survive infancy.**

quarter century ago, in the United States, three out of four babies weighing less than three and one-half pounds at birth would soon die. In 1980, two out of three survived. Indeed, the tiniest babies, weighing less than two and one-half pounds, now have a near even chance of living.

At each level of birthweight, the United States has the world's best record in assuring the survival of its newborns, according to a study by the World Health Organization in 1978. However, the United States has only the 16th lowest infant mortality rate principally because we have a disproportionately higher number of low-weight, high risk infants than do countries such as Sweden and Japan. For reasons not fully understood, low birthweight is particularly severe among black Americans. Indeed, it is twice as common among blacks as whites, an imbalance that accounts for nearly all the difference in deaths between whites and blacks during the first month of life.

To reduce infant mortality further in the United States, it will be necessary to lower the incidence of low birthweight. Unfortunately, however, the percentage of underweight babies has declined only slightly over the last 30 years, and medical researchers are not entirely clear about what has to be done.

### Still Puzzling Problems

Doctors tend to separate low birthweight into two categories. Term-low birthweight refers to infants born after 37 weeks of pregnancy; in about half of these cases, the low birthweight is thought to be connected to the use of cigarettes, drugs, or alcohol during pregnancy.



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**25 years ago, three out of four American babies weighing less than 3½ pounds at birth would soon die. In 1980, two out of three survived.**

Preterm-low birthweight, applying to infants born prematurely or before 37 weeks, is more common, accounting for one-half to two-thirds of all low birthweight babies. Here again, blacks have over twice the rate of whites, and to the puzzlement of researchers the incidence of prematurity declined less than one percent for both black and white babies during the 1970s. The rate has remained virtually unchanged despite government programs designed to provide medical services and nutritional supplements to pregnant mothers and their babies. Indeed, a recent report on the Special Supplemental Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) by the General Accounting Office found little conclusive evidence demonstrating a significant effect of food supplements on preterm or even term-low birthweight in the United States. "In fact, benefit may have occurred," writes Dr. David Rush in the *American Journal of Public Health,* "but past studies of WIC have not been designed, executed or analyzed well enough to draw any firm conclusions one way or the other."

### A Disappearing Tragedy

To further complicate matters, medical researchers have found that black babies are more likely than white babies to be born underweight, even when controlling for such factors as the height, weight, and socioeconomic status of their mothers. Low birthweight is twice as common among blacks as among American Indians, Chinese-Americans, and Japanese-Americans. One would have expected the health, nutrition, and other social welfare programs of the last 15 years to have reduced prematurity rates, but there was actually a slight increase in very low birthweight black babies during the 1970s.

One reason, perhaps, is the high incidence of teenage pregnancies, especially among young girls. As a result of physiological immaturity, low birthweight is rather common among babies born to girls 16 and under, and this problem is exacerbated when they fail to seek medical help until the last minute.

Despite well-publicized claims by advocacy groups (see sidebar), the rate of infant deaths has continued to decline during the Reagan administration, just as during previous ones. Infant mortality has fallen steadily for the last 80 years, and with continued research, particularly in the causes of premature delivery, we can reasonably hope that this tragedy will come close to disappearing from our country and, somewhat later, from the face of the earth.



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# *Political Baby Talk*

In January 1983 the Washington-based Food Research and Action Center (FRAC) issued a report claiming that between 1980 and 1981 the infant mortality rate had increased in seven states and 36 local areas. It attributed the upswing to the recession and high unemployment. This was used by newspapers and the networks to indict the Reagan administration. The *New York Times* editorialized: "But if the infant mortality rate continues to rise, it will also have to be attributed to the spiritual poverty of an administration that responds to a growing need for basic services by reducing them." The *Times* referred to the administration position on the WIC program as "not only mean but remarkably short-sighted." Also writing about alleged rising infant mortality, Anthony Lewis warned, "future generations of Americans will pay heavily for some of the last two years' budget cuts and policy changes."

The FRAC report, however, was sharply refuted by a number of scientists whose comments were included in a Senate hearing on the matter in March 1983. Dr. Peter Budetti, associate professor of social medicine in pediatrics at the University of California, San Francisco wrote, "It was not accurate for FRAC to conclude that the data they presented demonstrate 'the steady decline in infant mortality rate is being reversed.'" "FRAC is wrong," wrote Dr. Alvin M. Mauer, chairperson of the Committee on Nutrition of the American Academy of Pediatrics and director of St. Jude's Children's Research Hospital in Memphis, Tennessee.

There were two principal problems with the report. First, the figures were provisional, and FRAC did not use the proper statistical methods to correct for this. Second, state figures often fluctuate from year to year because of the relatively small number of infant deaths. It is impossible to make any predictions about trends in infant deaths on the basis of one year results in individual states. (Cities and local areas are even more prone to error.)

As it turned out, all but one of the states cited by FRAC had a *decrease* in their infant death rates the following year. It is not surprising to find a higher rate in one year despite a continuous downward trend in all the states. In fact, from 1970 to 1982 an average of 13 states reported increases in infant death rates each year. As we know now, the infant mortality rate across the U.S. has fallen from 12.6 per 1,000 in 1980 to 10.9 (provisional) in 1983.

In January 1984 FRAC issued another study that was equally misleading. As the result of a survey of 35 states and 16 cities between 1978 and 1982, the organization claimed that the gap between white and black infant mortality was getting wider. This was contrary to official data from the National Center for Health Statistics (NCHS) that showed that from 1978 to 1981, the last year for which official data were available, there was a 13 percent decrease in the infant mortality rate for blacks and exactly the same decrease for whites. This equal percentage decline has been the case for over 15 years.

Did the gap suddenly widen in 1982? Perhaps. We shall have to wait for final figures. More likely, it resulted from an error in FRAC's arithmetic and logic. According to Dr. Joel Kleinman, director of the Division of Analysis of the NCHS, FRAC's individual state figures appear to be valid. But apparently when these were averaged together to produce a national figure, FRAC analysts forgot to take into account the states' different populations. As Dr. Kleinman puts it in a memo dated January 16, 1984 to the deputy assistant secretary for health, "This is quite misleading since a state like Nevada with about 1000 black births receives the same emphasis as Illinois with 40,000 black births." In any case, the small number of infant deaths in the FRAC-surveyed cities and counties make it virtually impossible to draw conclusions about a widening infant mortality gap between blacks and whites.

C.A.



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# Castro's Tarnished Silver

## *Would You Buy a Used Revolution from This Man?*

**Lorrin Philipson**

Twenty-five years after Fidel Castro seized power, there is still a widespread misconception that life for the ordinary Cuban has improved under the revolution. This notion is not very common among Cubans, 1 million of whom—or 10 percent of the entire population—have already fled their homeland, with hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions more ready to leave if given the opportunity. But among intellectuals, journalists, and religious groups throughout the Americas as well as in Western Europe, Cuba is still looked on as a model for Latin America.

This enthusiasm is hard to sustain when one examines the dreary record of Mr. Castro's rule. After a quarter-century of revolution, Cuba has long food lines and strict rationing despite its fertile soil. Annual per capita consumption of rice—a basic staple in the Cuban diet—has fallen to 27 kilograms from 50 kilograms before the revolution. In 1980 Cubans were allotted two pounds of meat per month, one and a half pounds of chicken per month, and two ounces of coffee every 15 days—and 20 percent less new clothing than in 1965. Goods, if they arrive at all in the stores, are frequently shoddy. In 1981 one third of the television sets that were available for distribution were rejected by the state-owned wholesale enterprise.

Housing is similarly in short supply. The officially estimated housing shortage has risen from 655,000 units in 1960 to 1.5 million in 1980, even though Cuba during this period was one of the very few countries in the world to experience a net decline in population—from 10 million to 9 million.

The Castro regime can claim accomplishments in the fields of health and education, having raised levels of medical care and literacy that, prior to 1959, were already extraordinarily high by Caribbean standards. Life expectancy at birth has risen from 58.8 years in 1953 to 64 in 1960 to about 73 at the present time. (By comparison, life expectancy during the period 1975–80 was 69.7 in Costa Rica, 70.1 in Jamaica, 69.6 in Panama, and 73 in Puerto Rico.) Infant mortality per 1,000 births fell from 38 in 1958 to 19.1 in 1979, putting Cuba among the forerunners in the region. (The figure for Costa Rica in 1979 was 22.1; for Jamaica, 16.2 in 1978; for Panama, 21.3 in 1980; and Puerto Rico, 18.4 in 1980.)

**One of the few things to grow in Cuba in the past 25 years has been Castro's beard.**

Yet Cuba's public health record also includes several major failures. A report by the Organization of American States in October 1983 revealed that water pollution is such a problem, particularly in Havana—struck by an outbreak of typhoid fever in 1977—that the Ministry of Health urges people to boil their water. In 1980,

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LORRIN PHILIPSON, *a writer living in New York, is the author of* Freedom Flights *(Random House, 1981), about Cuban revolutionaries in exile, and of a forthcoming book on Cuban culture.*



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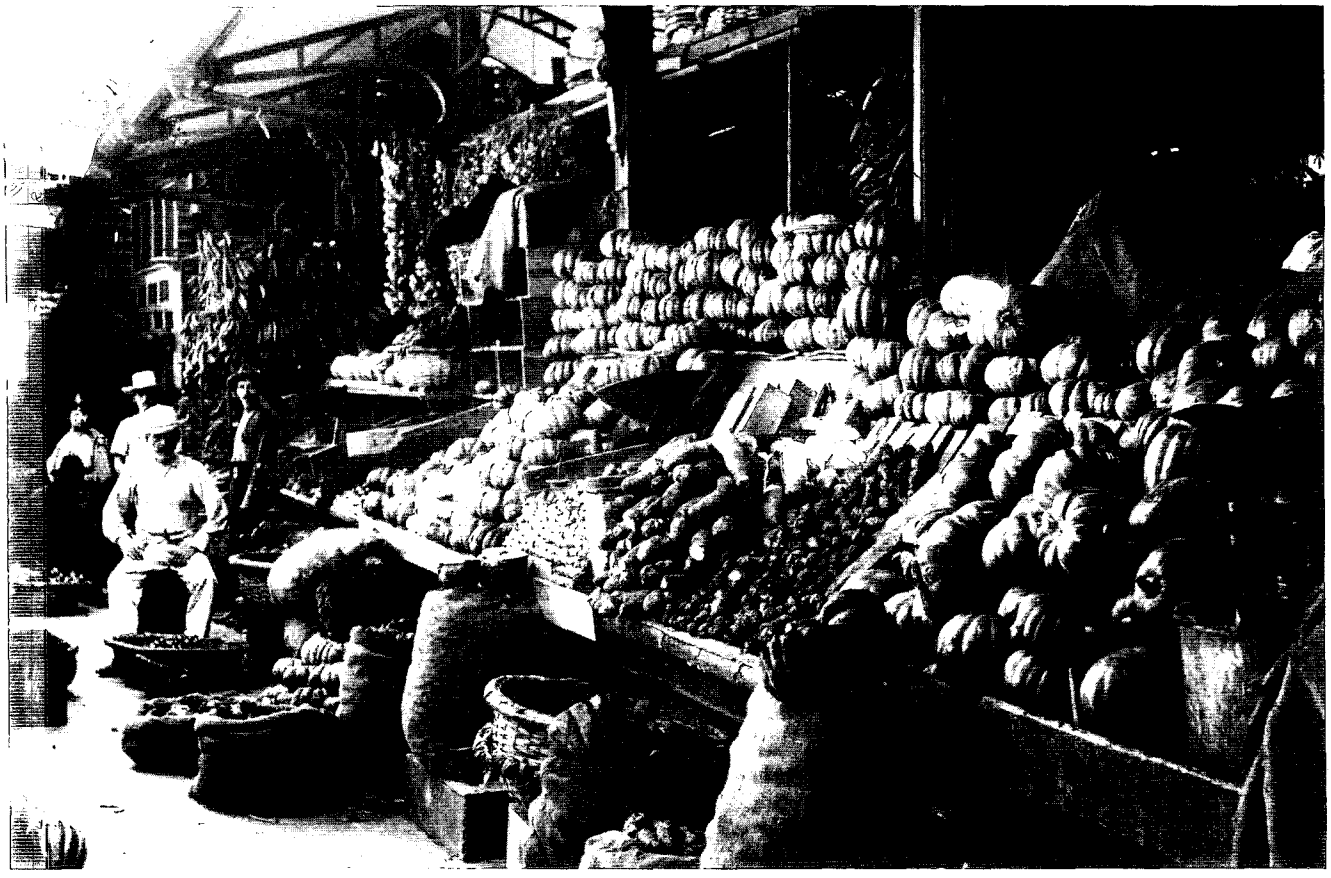

**Abundance in the market, Havana 1904. The harvest of revolution is of a different sort: long food lines and strict rationing, despite Cuba's fertile soil.**

according to the Cuban government's 1981 annual report for public health, 304 cases of yellow fever were diagnosed—the first outbreak of the disease in Cuba since 1905. Of these, "299 were imported from 23 countries in Africa, Asia, and America."

The Cuban health care system is bedeviled by the problems typical of Communist countries. In 1982, according to an article in *Current History* by Professor Sergio Roca of Adelphi University, "The Minister of Public Health was calling for a 'total transformation' to eradicate persistent shortcomings, including long waiting lines and maltreatment of patients. On another occasion, the Minister declared, 'We still suffer from deficient hygienic-sanitary conditions in child-care centers, schools, boarding schools, and in the camps of the schools in the countryside program, where these problems become grave.' "

### City and Country Life

Furthermore, though Cuban authorities have emphasized bringing medical services to rural areas, they have been unable to erase inequalities between city and countryside. In 1943, as reported by Hugh Thomas in *The Cuban Revolution,* Cuba had one physician per 1,000 people and one dentist per 3,000, compared with 1:1,900 and 1:20,000 in Mexico. More than half the doctors were in Havana, which also had a higher proportion of dentists, nurses, and pharmacists. The organization of health, however, made medicine available to most people except during very bad times. Each of the 126 counties had one doctor who charged a nominal fee while attention at his hospital or clinic was free, but there was considerable disparity between town and country.

These inequities continue. "In 1980," according to Sergio Roca, "the population-physician ratio ranged from 263 to 1 in the city of Matanzas, to 1,750 to 1 in mostly rural Granma Province. In recent years about 60 percent of new hospital beds have been assigned to the most needy rural provinces. Nevertheless, the overall rural rate of 1.7 beds per 1,000 population still lags far behind the city of Havana's 9.9 rate." According to Mr. Roca, there are also wide differences in infant mortality, ranging from 23.7 in rural Guantanamo province to 9.2 in the city of Matanzas.

Cuba's prerevolutionary literacy rate was 78 percent, a level surpassed in Latin America only by Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. By 1976, according to statistics of the World Health Organization, literacy had risen to 96 percent, compared with 90 percent in Costa Rica, 86 percent in Jamaica, 78 percent in Panama, 94 percent in Argentina, and 99 percent in the United States, Canada, and Uruguay.

Yet according to Sergio Roca, the Cuban educational system is in disarray. He reports that in 1980 "34 percent of all secondary schools were engaged in some form of 'academic fraud' or cheating, on the part of students and



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faculty. At the same time more than 40 percent of science laboratories in secondary schools were out of order. Some school buildings were rapidly deteriorating because of faulty construction and inadequate maintenance, while others suffered from deficient lighting and ventilation."

Moreover, of what use is universal education without the freedom to read, write, and speak? Admission to the university in Cuba depends more on revolutionary activity than expertise. A decree on March 12, 1980, declared that students, teachers, and workers may be expelled from educational institutions for disparaging the revolution. Some 411 students who passed the admissions exam for medical schools with high scores were not allowed to continue their education because of "bad political attitudes."

**Sugar Cane Tales**

The statistics for education in Mr. Castro's Cuba do not take into account the high dropout rate, the inadequate level of training, the lack of autonomy of the universities, where students and faculty cannot undertake independent research, and most important, the extreme censorship that rules out most contemporary literature and study or even mention of the numerous Cuban artists who have fled the country. Novels are written collectively in literary workshops, and those by individuals must laud socialist realities, such as the success of ever-vigilant security forces in tracking down U.S. subversives, and exemplary workers cutting impressive amounts of cane, as in the award-winning *Sacchario,* about the 1970 sugar harvest. Otherwise, fiction must be safely set in the past, decrying evils like slavery. Even historical works are not always safe from censorship: A performance of the 16th-century classic Spanish drama *La Celestina,* faithful to the original, was banned at Cuba's National Puppet Theater on the grounds of immorality, even though it had been acceptable in Spain under the Inquisition.

**A Cuban capitalist before the people took over.**

Perhaps the most dramatic failure of the Castro regime has been its destruction of the economy. Prior to the revolution, like most countries in Latin America, Cuba was a land of sharp contrasts between rich and poor, with sophistication and affluence in Havana and its luxurious suburbs of Miramar and the Country Club section, and extreme poverty in the countryside, especially among cane workers faced with seasonal unemployment. But its poverty was never that of Mexico, Bolivia, or Haiti.

**Fleeing Disaster**

In 1953, for example, according to Hugh Thomas in *The Cuban Revolution,* Havana had 18 daily newspapers, 32 radio stations, five television stations, and widespread use of air conditioning. Proximity to and a favorable balance of trade with the United States meant that Cuba had more telephones per person than any other country in Latin America except Argentina and Uruguay, more radios than any except Uruguay, and more television sets than any other country in Latin America—the means, as Hugh Thomas points out, whereby Mr. Castro could galvanize the country. Here was no banana republic. In addition, Cuba in the 1950s included 53,000 people with a university education, 90,000 executives or company directors, 140,000 office workers, 120,000 salesmen, and 86,000 professional or technical people, half of them teachers.

Much of that middle class fled Cuba as a result of Mr. Castro's disastrous economic policies. One need only look at the economic vitality of Miami today to gain a sense of the vistas that were possible for Cuba under a political and economic system that encouraged individual initiative and tapped the resources of a hard-working, inventive people.

But Mr. Castro did not limit himself to destroying the bourgeoisie. Prior to the revolution there was an active trade union movement. Indeed, the Confederation of Cuban Workers played a major role in the overthrow of Fulgencio Batista, organizing nationwide strikes against him in 1956–59. The tobacco workers were radical proponents of liberty throughout Cuban history, providing major support to José Marti during the wars of independence of the 19th century. Nevertheless, all free trade unions were nullified and disbanded by Mr. Castro in the early 1960s.

Similarly, Mr. Castro took back land given to the peasants under his agrarian reform. Instead of letting the peasants own land or organize cooperatives, Mr. Castro sent in Communists to convert farms into state collectives. The Communists wrought havoc with agriculture



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and provoked rebellion with their brutal tactics and frequent executions. Fishing was ruined in villages, such as Cardenas, when fishing boats were taken over by the government. Although Cuba had been able to provide cheap milk and meat in the early years of the revolution, the cattle industry was rapidly destroyed by inept and corrupt administrators. These administrators slaughtered cattle indiscriminately and sold it, for example, to Venezuela.

Mr. Castro's economic failures are often attributed to the trade embargo of the United States, which in the fifties had been the market for just over two thirds of Cuba's exports. The embargo, begun in 1960, was precipitated by Mr. Castro's seizure of nearly $2 billion worth of U.S.-owned property, without any compensation. The sanctions may have dealt a major blow to Cuba at first, but Cuba was gradually able to circumvent them. In the early 1970s the Cuban government was actively trading with such Western nations as Argentina, Spain, Britain, France, Japan, Canada, Sweden, Italy, Mexico, and Switzerland.

*The economic vitality of Miami today shows what would have been possible for Cuba under a system that encouraged initiative and tapped the resources of a hard-working people.*

Mr. Castro's claim, in a recent interview with *Newsweek,* that "our economy has grown at an approximate rate of 4.7 percent over 25 years" is simply meaningless. In December 1983, Cuba had to reschedule nearly half of its $3.5 billion debt to Western banks and governments. The Cuban economy has been able to survive only because of massive aid from the Soviet Union, which purchases sugar from Cuba at above-world-market prices and sells it oil below prevailing rates. Cuba's estimated debt to the Soviet Union of $7 billion plus the amount it owes the West makes Cuba's overall debt of $10 billion more than 200 times what it was in 1959.

### Vanishing Optimism

Since there have been no free elections since 1959, it is hard to measure just how dissatisfied Cubans are with their life under Mr. Castro. Nevertheless, several indices reveal widespread personal unhappiness and disillusionment with the revolution. According to the 1981 annual report of the Cuban Ministry of Public Health, the country had a suicide rate of 27.5 per 100,000 people—one of the highest in the world.

In addition, Cuba's birth rate shows one of the most rapid declines in the world, except for Singapore, which unlike Cuba has specific policies to encourage that trend. In 1953 the birth rate per 1,000 was 28.3. By 1959 it was down only a few points to 27.7. After the revolution, at a time of continued optimism about the future, the birth rate actually rose, reaching a peak of 35.1 in 1963. But it had fallen to 14.1 by 1980. According to a Cuban public health journal, married men interviewed in a small sample mentioned the housing shortage and inadequate income to support their families as reasons for their not wanting more children.

In an atmosphere of repression and the absence of incentives to work, productivity is low. The Cuban government's own publications report serious difficulties with absenteeism, negligence, and sabotage, necessitating an antivagrancy law in 1971 and increasingly harsh disciplinary measures ever since. In 1980, the Cuban magazine *Bohemia* cited this typical case of inefficiency among several: "The construction of a large fertilizer plant in Cienfuegos was begun in 1968, and the facility started operations in 1973; but it had to be rebuilt in 1978 and was aiming to produce at 80 percent capacity in 1981."

### Freedom to Obey

Like all Communist countries, Cuba has an abysmal record on human rights. There is no freedom of speech, no freedom of worship, no freedom of enterprise, no freedom to emigrate, no freedom to form trade unions or other voluntary organizations. Furthermore, Cuba has an estimated 140,000 prisoners in a population of only 9 million.

Jail sentences in Cuba are among the lengthiest anywhere—10, 15, 20 years for minor offenses or acts that should not even be considered crimes, i.e., dissent, trying to leave the country, practicing religious beliefs that conflict with the dictates of the state, or buying and selling on the black market to feed one's family when the ration does not suffice.

Human rights organizations and scores of ex-political prisoners have pointed out time and again the absence of due process. Defendants at trials are rarely allowed to bring witnesses, whereas the prosecutor usually has security agents to testify. In most cases the accused is tried without presentation of evidence of a crime, denied counsel, or given only a few minutes before the proceedings to consult with an attorney. Frequently, no clear statement is made of the charges. In an atmosphere of spying by local vigilance committees on every block, people live in constant fear of denunciation and of being arrested under a law of danger to the state, or predelinquency, meaning that although no crime has been committed, one is jailed on the grounds of being a potential enemy of the revolution.

The criminal procedure law allows a person to be tried more than once for the same crime. Furthermore, many people have been resentenced upon completion of their terms, usually for refusing political rehabilitation programs.

The Cuban Revolution at 25? A perfidious game of three-card monte, the longest-running in the hemisphere, except for General Stroessner's. History will not absolve it. ☎



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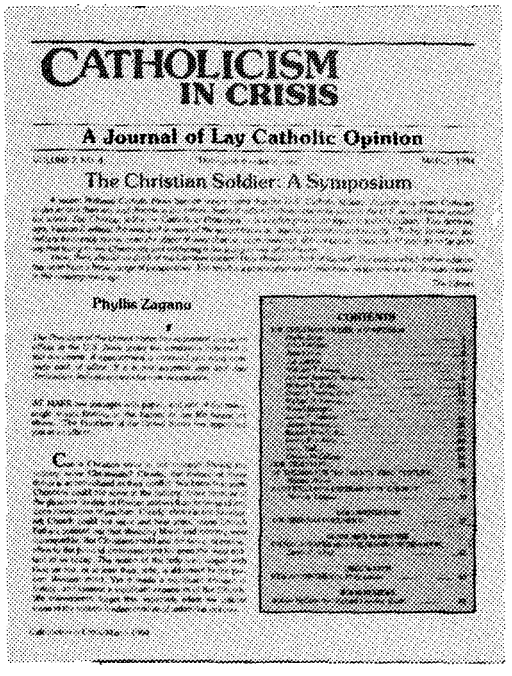
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# Fast Times at the Arts Endowment

## *Still Speeding under the Reagan Administration*

James Bovard

The National Endowment for the Arts received $144 million this year (FY 1984) to help improve America's cultural life. To this end, the NEA recently funded the "Touch Sanitation Show," which included a barge with the work gloves of sanitation workers from the five boroughs of New York City. Other NEA projects included the taping of noise emanating from the Brooklyn Bridge; an art show entitled "Extended Sensibilities: Homosexual Presence in Contemporary Art"; and an Art-on-Billboards project to place contemporary art on billboards around the country.

The Reagan administration came into office promising to reduce government waste, yet the NEA continues to allocate money for projects that have little if anything to do with art. The NEA in 1982 funded a documentary on high school football in Texas, a revival of the old radio comedy shows of Bob and Ray, and a compilation of rapidrail transit maps from all around the world. The NEA is financing an environmental art project entitled "Dance of Machines"; according to the *New York Times*, it involves cranes and heavy equipment that "'dance' at a large construction site in a performance featuring video projections and original music." The NEA even spent $5,000 for clown workshops in New York City.

The Reagan administration attempted to cut the Endowment's budget in half in 1981. Congress rejected this cut and the Reagan administration has since increased its budget request for the NEA each year—from $88 million for FY 1982, to $101 million for FY 1983, to $125 million for FY 1984, to $144 million for FY 1985. Frank Hodsoll, Mr. Reagan's NEA chairman, has tightened some of the day-to-day operations of the NEA, but he has not reformed the basic grant-making process. Grants are distributed according to the decision of panels composed of artists, many of whom are former grant recipients.

***The Kiss,* inspired by the artist's dog, Cindy. Shown at NEA-funded exhibit, October 1982.**

National Council on the Arts (the presidentially appointed board that oversees the NEA) member Samuel Lipman notes that, in reviewing grants, "nobody has enough information to know what the hell anyone is talking about." Ruth Berenson, the NEA's associate deputy chairman for programs, says that the NEA "doesn't know what [grant recipients] are trying to do . . . can't tell what they're going to do" in many cases. The federal government has little or no control over how money is spent once the chairman signs the check.

In 1982, the NEA gave a New York City artist $4,500 to make videotapes of a baker, a butcher, a grocer, and a fishmonger to play in front of their stores to help them stay in business. The application explained that these stores in the SoHo area were an "endangered species" because of the rise in property values and the arrival of "'uptown' doctors and lawyers."

The NEA funded the "Extended Sensibilities: Homo-

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JAMES BOVARD *is an investigative journalist living in Washington. He wrote this article for the Fund for Objective News Reporting.*



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sexual Presence in Contemporary Art" show in October 1982 at the New Museum in New York City. The show catalog introduction announces, "Being a gay American inevitably bestows upon one a need to create one's own roots before accepting a group identity." The show explicitly sought to promote homosexual perspectives and included a "twelve-foot-high, black porcelain-glass-coated steel monument to Lesbianism." The catalog described one lady's work as follows:

> In a painting like *The Kiss* (1981), Cindy is an animal goddess lying prone on her back, completely defenseless. She appears part dog, goat, and fish on top with her delicate ribcage tapering to an attenuated belly and waist. As goddess, Cindy is aware of her vulnerability and more than happy to extend her elongated pink tongue (with a discernible smile on her snout) to Fran's [the artist] face, which is dwarfed by her own.

The catalog notes, "Within the realm of lesbian cultural history, animals take a special place."

One sculpture at the show, "Lying Man," "placed a detail of a promiscuous gay mating process literally under the viewer's nose." The catalog explained, "The body language of [the model's] lower regions is saying that he is equally receptive to anal or genital sexual exploration." Another work by a male artist in the show included "Self-portrait in Slip," commemorating "a private moment between a man and his mirror."

Among other recent grants, the NEA gave $15,000 to Henry L. Hills, a self-employed house painter who sent in an untyped, half-legible letter requesting money for a series of films "exploring the relationship between sound and image." One part of the film series will involve "cutting [poets'] words into syllables and restructuring them into 'zaums.'" (The word "zaum" was not defined.)

Another $15,000 grant went to Cecelia Condit of Mayfield Heights, Ohio, for "an experimental video drama exploring the lurking fear of violence, cannibalism, and contemporary phobias in the minds of two suburban women."

Despite Ronald Reagan's promise to depoliticize the Endowment, the NEA is still funding things like "Bread and Roses," a touring play that idealizes the 1912 textile strike in Lowell, Massachusetts. The Endowment gave $7,500 to the Alternate Energy Resources Organization to produce the *New Western Energy Show,* which lectures school children on "solar energy and energy conservation" through cartoons, poems, and puppets.

The NEA is funding several theater and dance groups involved in the nuclear-freeze movement. The *Village Voice* reported last year that Mabou Mines theater company, recipients of a $150,000 NEA grant, "will soon perform its federally funded piece, *Dead End Kids,* as part of a seven-city tour sponsored by Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament."

Despite attempts to economize, the NEA still gives many grants that are just unnecessary. The NEA gave $3,000 to support a bluegrass festival in Nashville—subsidizing bluegrass in Tennessee is as necessary as subsidizing bullfights in Madrid. The activity will occur with or without government aid. The effect of many NEA grants is not to increase the amount of artistic activity, but to increase artists' pay for doing what they would have done anyway and to reduce admission prices for people who could afford to pay more.

The NEA gave $75,000 for New York City's Free Shakespeare in the Park program. If festival organizers had charged a small fee, the program could easily have managed without a federal subsidy. An NEA research report in 1979 found that attendees at NEA-subsidized ballet, dance, and orchestra performances had median incomes $4,000 higher than the national median. The main beneficiaries of these NEA-subsidized events are middle- and upper-class people.

Two political action committees now operate to rope contributions for pro-NEA congressmen. One committee, ART PAC, recently held a $250-a-head reception for Senator Robert Stafford to honor and reward him for being the first Republican senator to publicly oppose President Reagan's proposed NEA budget cuts. It appears that the arts have become just another pork barrel.

Aside from increases in the number of performances and subsidized publications, the NEA has little to show for its billion dollars' of cultural aid distributed over the last decade. A recent *Washington Post* article on the decline of poetry quoted poet-editor Peter Davidson: "We have developed an entire educational system of poet-think, of schools and graduate schools, and workshops, and conferences, and residencies, where bards link up like chains of algae, funded by state councils and federal grants and half-suspecting taxpayers." Art critic Alan Rich observed in *California* magazine, "Looking back over the history of NEA support to specific projects or individuals, I find very few whose stability is any more assured after 17 years of handouts than it was when the Endowment began." Council member Samuel Lipman added that the NEA has had "very little effect on creative culture of enduring value."

When asked whether the Endowment would continue funding projects like the "Touch Sanitation Show," with its barge of garbagemen's gloves, Mr. Hodsoll replied, "Absolutely—where it's serious and it's demonstrated that the effort is to push the edges of the art form towards something." Mr. Hodsoll said that he had raised questions about the Touch Sanitation grant, but the Arts Council was enthusiastic about it and the panel that awarded the grant was composed of "distinguished artists who thought this was a serious attempt to explore these kinds of relationships." Mr. Hodsoll feels that, as chairman, he "should stay out of making aesthetic judgments."

The Arts Endowment funds so many absurd, useless, and unnecessary projects because there is no sound place for government in the arts. Government can either fund traditional, popular art—which need no subsidy; or high culture—which primarily appeals to the well-off; or experimental art, which appeals largely to the transvestites and sanitation glove collectors of America. Abolishing the Arts Endowment would have little or no long-term effect on quality art. ☎



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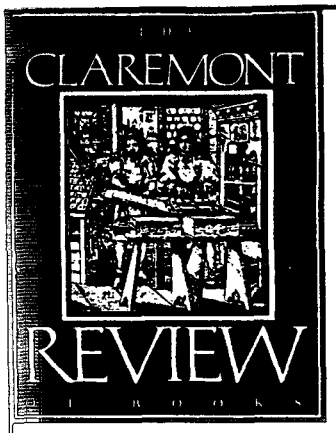


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# *Supply-Side Demands*

**The Supply-Side Revolution: An Insider's Account of Policymaking in Washington,** *by Paul Craig Roberts (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press).*

Paul Craig Roberts succeeds in a task that few economists even undertake—to make an eventful period of economic history come alive and thus to attract the interest of a broader audience.

The major theme of his book is that a revolution occurred in economic policy in the United States when Congress passed the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981, "a revolution brought about by the unstinting efforts of a few people." That emphasis on the valiant few permeates this description of the events that led up to and followed the passage of the 1981 tax cuts. Thus, the book portrays the author himself as the keeper of the flame, and from the outset it bemoans the fact that President Reagan, in filling economic policy positions, reached out beyond supply-side economists.

Mr. Roberts served as assistant secretary of the Treasury for economic policy in 1981–82. He now holds the William E. Simon chair in political economy at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University.

Scattered throughout this well-written book are useful insights into the policy process. Mr. Roberts explains the many reasons why formal economic analysis has limited effect. He points out that most decision makers cannot recognize careful statistics and sound analysis, and that they will choose on the basis of personalities or how it will play in the press. His overall conclusion is commendable: "Once the public policy process is understood, people will expect less from it."

Yet the analysis of supply-side economics, although extremely readable, is substantively disappointing. Ignoring the literature of public finance, Mr. Roberts writes as though he and his friends discovered that taxes can adversely affect incentives to work, save, and invest. He contends that supply-siders have unearthed a "broad definition of the tax burden" to include production lost as a result of the disincentives imposed by taxation. Such "excess burdens" of taxation have been a staple of traditional economics for almost a century.

Mr. Roberts also oversimplifies the economic process by promoting the view that "fiscal policy works by affecting incentives rather than demand." The Keynesians surely can be faulted for overemphasizing the role of demand, and supply-siders such as Mr. Roberts have made an important contribution to public policy by emphasizing the role of supply. But both viewpoints overlook what the great neoclassical economist Alfred Marshall taught the profession: There are two blades to the economic scissors—supply and demand.

The economic policy of the Reagan administration was, of course, far broader than the tax cuts, important as they were. The development of Reaganomics will undoubtedly make a fascinating chapter in American economic history. Unfortunately, in this book the central character is not President Reagan but the author. A few excerpts illustrate the point: "I estimated that I could help keep the President out of the establishment's cage for a year." "I made a last-ditch effort to get the President's men back on board with the President's policy."

These are odd statements, considering that the only meeting with the president that he describes as having attended was a mass breakfast with all presidential appointees. In fact, Mr. Roberts laments that "I would have liked to sit down and talk things over with him, but the breakfast was a social affair."

The author's position was an assistant secretary of the Treasury; such subcabinet appointees normally do not participate in top-level meetings. Thus, this "insider's account" relies heavily on secondary sources, such as newspaper articles.

An example of this is the report of the meeting at which the president decided not to initiate a proposal to reduce the top bracket on the federal personal income tax from 70 percent to 50 percent. The meeting was hardly the conspiracy against supply-side economics that Mr. Roberts describes. Rather, President Reagan made his decision on the basis that such a desirable but potentially contentious change would more likely be adopted if the Democrats in the Congress took the lead—and he was right.

Ronald Reagan's economic policy deserves a broader-based exposition than these kiss-and-tell (or rather kick-and-tell) memoirs. A historian less concerned with justifying his own position might focus directly on the substance of the economic white paper of February 18, 1981, the first major exposition of the President's economic program.

In this document, and in innumerable subsequent statements issued by the administration, the emphasis was on the four pillars of the program to reduce inflation and encourage economic growth: tax cuts, spending cuts, regulatory reform, and monetary restraint.



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This approach drew on each of the leading schools of conservative thought and required the broad base of thinking that Mr. Roberts objects to so vehemently. The tax cuts reflected supply-side concerns about excessively high marginal rates. The monetary policy was couched in monetarist language, emphasizing stable growth of the money supply. Budget cutting is a staple of traditional conservative thinking. And regulatory relief is a goal that all three schools embraced enthusiastically.

As of early 1984, it is apparent that movement on the four pillars of Reaganomics has been extremely uneven. Progress on the reduction of tax burdens has been far more rapid than on the other aspects. It is surprising, therefore, that this genuine achievement is not a source of greater joy to the author who, in contrast, writes of the "unraveling" of Reaganomics.

It is in the area of spending cuts that the results have been so disappointing. While federal revenues have declined as a portion of gross national product since 1980, federal spending has risen from 22 percent of GNP in 1980 to 25 percent in 1983. Moreover, regulatory reform has been more modest than expected. Finally, monetary policy has been, at best, eclectic and surely not the stable, predictable, and moderate approach urged in the white paper.

The detailed chronology of infighting, backbiting, and jockeying for position that constitutes the core of the book is frequently fascinating. Yet at some points, participants reading the book would feel like characters out of *Rashomon.*

Most of the specific events that Mr. Roberts describes did occur, but they often unfolded in a different way. For example, he sees the vital meetings in January and February 1981, held in order to arrive at the economic assumptions underlying the budget, only in terms of personal rivalry and political aspirations. In actuality, those meetings were hardly a battle for turf, but rather a debate between theology and analysis. Whenever the extreme optimism of the supply-side forecasts was questioned, the answer was in religious terms, "If you do not show optimistic results, you do not believe in the program." The constant desire to use the high end of the range of possible economic outcomes—although motivated by the desire to protect the tax cuts from "backsliders"—created unfulfilled expectations and reduced the credibility of Reaganomics.

I still recall the many budget-cutting meetings in the White House that the supply-siders dismissed as needless in view of the torrent of revenue they expected from the tax cuts. It is ironic to reflect on how much smaller the deficits would have been—and the permanence of the tax cuts more secure—if Mr. Roberts and his associates had assaulted specific spending programs with the energy and vehemence that they devoted to attacking the rest of the Reagan administration.

Murray L. Weidenbaum

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MURRAY L. WEIDENBAUM, *Mallinckrodt Distinguished University Professor at Washington University in St. Louis, served as the first chairman of President Reagan's Council of Economic Advisers.*

# *Right Man, Wrong Time*

**Caveat: Realism, Reagan, and Foreign Policy** *by Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co).*

On Inauguration Day, 1981, the new secretary of state, Alexander M. Haig, Jr., delivered to the White House the draft of a document that would give him full authority to "formulate and execute foreign policy" for the next four years. This draft, which he intended to be the new president's first national security directive (NSDD-1), would have made the secretary of state the single manager of foreign policy, giving him preeminence over all other Cabinet members, the director of central intelligence, and the national security adviser. The document sank from sight and was never issued.

This stillborn attempt to seize power set the tone of Mr. Haig's tenure as secretary of state, an experience from which he emerged 18 months later feeling that his efforts had been frustrated at every turn. *Caveat,* which chronicles this experience, is a sad book, shot through with Mr. Haig's sense of promise unfulfilled.

When Ronald Reagan took office, the country was ready for a new era in foreign policy. The public looked to the new president to restore the national defense and renew America's self-confidence. The president promised a bold, unmistakenly anticommunist foreign policy, which would confront Soviet expansionism around the world with a new American resolve. And Mr. Haig was ready to articulate and implement that policy, in what he expected would be a close and powerful working relationship with the president.

It was not to be, despite Mr. Haig's background as one of the best qualified men ever to become secretary of state. During more than three years at the National Security Council, and later, as White House chief of staff for Richard Nixon, he had exercised power at the highest levels. During his NSC years, he and his boss, Henry Kissinger, had run foreign policy from the west wing of the White House. When Mr. Kissinger later became secretary of state, he took his authority with him. Under President Reagan, Mr. Haig expected to exercise the same kind of control over foreign policy. But there was a crucial difference: Mr. Kissinger had enjoyed the full confidence and support of the president. Mr. Haig never did.

When Mr. Haig joined the Reagan team, he scarcely knew the president and did not understand him. More serious, perhaps, he never developed a relationship with the president's senior staff. His ego and military sense of rank made that impossible. After all, he was the first-ranking member of the Cabinet. He saw the president's men as mere public relations experts, "wizards" skilled in press manipulation, who used their wizardry to attack his efforts at policymaking with leaks and innuendos.

Mr. Haig wanted to make and run foreign policy, with



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the concurrence of the president. He apparently sought an Eisenhower-Dulles type of relationship, a two-man partnership with no interference from White House assistants or the rest of the Cabinet. Yet from the beginning he was isolated from the president. Their conversations were infrequent and often left him confused as to the president's intentions. The famous congeniality of Ronald Reagan led the secretary to believe that the president was agreeing to his suggestions. Mr. Haig eventually realized that frequently he was not.

A West Pointer and career Army officer, Mr. Haig was the ultimate professional. He wanted a "strong ring of professionals" in the top jobs at State, but he undercut himself from the start by disparaging political ideology. He writes with relish how he dismissed most members of the Reagan transition team the first day he met with them, because they were viewed "by the outgoing Carter appointees and their allies in the bureaucracy as excessively ideological." Then for months he had trouble with the White House staff and Republicans on Capitol Hill, apparently not understanding why the supporters of the people he dismissed as ideologues opposed his appointments and policies.

The ongoing theme is his persistent effort to gain control of foreign policy. And in the end, Mr. Haig seems to have been his own worst enemy. His aggressive manner, constant battles over turf, and continued demands for more authority created a strained tenure that led inevitably to his departure. His description of the "I'm in Control" episode, when the president had been shot and was undergoing surgery, is a credible account of how the Washington press can blow an isolated incident totally out of perspective. Still, his seemingly arrogant manner over a period of weeks contributed to the press reaction. Even in telling the story two years later he clearly enjoys the image of Commander in Chief of the World, or "CINC World," that the press had bestowed on him.

The former secretary takes care not to criticize the president, but strongly implies that he is controlled and manipulated by his staff. Mr. Haig's cast of villains includes the White House triumvirate of Messrs. Meese, Baker, and Deaver, along with other unnamed White House aids. According to Mr. Haig, they were constantly undercutting his efforts and leaking anti-Haig stories to the press. Yet there is no mention of the devastating leaks that emanated from Mr. Haig's Department of State, attacking United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and others who challenged Mr. Haig's policies.

The former secretary concludes by regretting his lost opportunity to remake American foreign policy. His regrets are shared by many conservatives, but not for all the same reasons. They, too, hoped for new directions in foreign policy, but instead got turf wars and continued control by professionals who showed "no great enthusiasm . . . for the Reagan Administration."

Yet many of the problems of Al Haig's 18 months have persisted since his departure. The control of policy by non-Reagan supporters has grown even greater, prompting one of the few conservatives at the State Department to suggest a bumper sticker reading "Bring Back Haig."

That is most unlikely. But Mr. Haig's ably written book (he has gotten his famous syntax problems under control in writing *Caveat* with the help of spy-novelist Charles McCarry) could help lead to the realization of the best of his intentions. The first eight chapters, devoted to the bureaucratic tangles between State and the White House, are must reading for those who will be guiding foreign policy in the next four years. For those who will not, *Caveat* provides an often fascinating glimpse into the world of Washington power politics. Al Haig was the right man for Richard Nixon. He was clearly the wrong man for Ronald Reagan.

**James T. Hackett**

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JAMES T. HACKETT *served under General Haig on the National Security Council Staff from 1971 to 1972 and is now editor of the* National Security Record.



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# Department of Disinformation

## *Courtesy of Babrak Karmal, William Safire, and Bishop Paul Moore, Jr.*

### Pushtu the Sea

"The issue in 1979 was territorial integrity. We needed Soviet help to prevent the dismemberment of the country. Pakistan wanted to annex the Pushtun areas and China was attempting to take the northeast. To be or not to be was the question in Afghanistan."

—Babrak Karmal, Soviet puppet in Afghanistan, as quoted by Selig Harrison in the *Washington Post,* May 13, 1984.

Mr. Karmal's explanation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 is standard Soviet disinformation. Historically, Afghanistan has called for a "Greater Pushtunistan" to be carved out of Pakistan's northwest frontier province as a means of consolidating Pushtun support.

It is Kabul, not Islamabad, that is unhappy with the Durand Line that presently demarcates the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Moreover, reports of an influx of Soviet settlers in the area suggest that it is the Soviet Union, not China, that covets the northeast. Moscow is rapidly integrating Afghanistan into the Soviet bloc's economic system and forcing Soviet ideology into the Afghan educational system. To be Soviet or not to be Soviet is the real issue in Afghanistan today.

Incidentally, Mr. Harrison, the first American to be granted an interview with Mr. Karmal since he was installed in power by Soviet tanks in 1979, calls the Afghan "more than a puppet." He also writes that "Moscow appears to be slowly but steadily building a functioning Afghan military and administrative apparatus manned at critical points by highly motivated Afghan communists loyal to Karmal." He contends that Mr. Karmal's "regime does not control much of the Afghan countryside but neither does the resistance." Mr. Harrison's observations are based on an eight-day sojourn in Kabul, in which he was accompanied by a government translator and closely watched by the Khad, the Afghan secret police. He neither visited the vast stretches of the countryside controlled by the Afghan resistance nor spoke with resistance figures in Kabul.

James Phillips

### Land of the Falling Yen

"The government of Japan has been getting away with economic murder," wrote columnist William Safire in *The New York Times* on May 7, 1984. Among the reasons he cited: "Japan's currency is artificially rigged to make exports cheaper and imports more costly."

U.S. industrialists hurt by Japanese price competition have been singing this refrain for some time. The idea is that the weak yen, which is currently about 15% below its 1980 value relative to the dollar, gives Japan a competitive advantage at the expense of the U.S.

That's not the way the world works. First of all, no government can "artificially" hold down its real exchange rate for long. The real value of a currency is determined by the laws of supply and demand in the world marketplace. A government that prints money in order to devalue its currency will soon have an offsetting domestic inflation. The result, in Japan's case, would be that U.S. dollars would buy more yen, but the same quantity of goods as before. The nominal exchange rate would change, but there would be no final effect on the real exchange rate, which reflects the bundle of Japanese goods that a dollar will buy, not the digits printed on a yen note.

But what about the fact that the real market value of the yen has dropped against the dollar in recent years? Probably this stems at least in part from a healthier U.S. economy and stronger dollar; and in part from Japan's heavy regulation of the capital market, which the Japanese have only recently agreed to liberalize. Among the effects of these regulations is that the Japanese are forced to invest capital in Japan that they would otherwise choose to invest more profitably elsewhere. Hence, they earn a lower rate of return on capital than if they could invest freely anywhere in the world. It is the Japanese economy that suffers most from this, as Japanese investors are forced to subsidize capital-intensive industries, many of which export abroad. U.S. manufacturers may complain, but why should U.S. consumers be outraged by Japanese giveaways?

Claudia Rosett

### George Washington Ortega?

"I'm not saying the Sandinistas are perfect, any more than I am saying that the young United States of America was perfect after the Revolutionary War," said Paul E. Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York, in his Easter sermon. "It took us 12 years to have an election, and George Washington was the only



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candidate." George McGovern and Jesse Jackson have drawn similar comparisons between the Sandinista and American revolutions.

This is an odd revision of American history. In fact, eleven candidates ran for president against George Washington in 1788, including John Adams, the runner-up, who became the nation's first vice president. Washington was inaugurated only 10 months after the June 1788 ratification of the U.S. Constitution; and contrary to what Bishop Moore says, it took us five years, not 12, to elect our first president, since the Revolutionary War did not end until the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783. Moreover, during those five years, our nation was a democracy.

America, prior to Washington's election, was a collection of states, with elected governors, but almost no central authority. These states sent their elected representatives to the Continental Congress, which had to rely on the states for funds and execution of its decrees. America held its Constitutional Convention in 1787 because most state governments agreed that the central government was too weak under the Articles of Confederation to enforce foreign obligations or quell internal disorder. This is not how the Sandinistas have begun.

Unlike in Nicaragua today, the free press flourished in America after the revolution. Between 1775 and 1789 the number of newspapers in our nation doubled from 45 to 90, many of which became distinctly partisan, advocating or denouncing government positions.

Bishop Moore's comparison of early America with modern Nicaragua seems strained when we see the human rights abuses by the Sandinistas, including elimination of the free press, confiscation of private property, backing of guerrilla operations against neighboring countries, intense internal security, and no prospect of fair elections. Bishop Moore is also mistaken in his implication that the Sandinistas will introduce democracy as soon as they have consolidated their revolution. Their views on elections are unambiguous:

- "Never again will the power of the people be defeated by either bullets or votes." Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Nicaraguan Directorate, quoted by *La Prensa* on December 5, 1983.
- "Elections in Nicaragua will not be for the purpose of disputing power, but to fortify the revolution." Subcommandante Rafael Solis, quoted by *La Prensa* on December 24, 1981.

Humberto Ortega, Nicaragua's minister of defense, in a speech to a meeting of "military specialists" on August 25, 1981, declared that "Marxism-Leninism is the scientific doctrine that guides our revolution, our vanguard's analytical tool for . . . carrying out the revolution. . . . We cannot be Marxist-Leninist without Sandinism, and without Marxism-Leninism Sandinism cannot be revolutionary. Thus, they are indissolubly linked . . . Our political strength is Sandinism and our doctrine is Marxism-Leninism."

In the same speech, Mr. Ortega noted that the elections planned in 1985 "will in no way—like a lottery—decide who is going to hold power. For this power belongs to the people, to the FSLN, to our directorate."

There is no echo here of what was going on in the young United States of America. The Ortegas are not modern-day George Washingtons, as Bishop Moore suggests. There will be no free elections in Nicaragua as long as the Sandinistas are in power, because as Marxists they believe democracy is a bourgeois illusion.

**Benjamin Hart**


# SURVEY

## Andropov and Chernenko
## Whither Big Brother?

Chernenko, in his role as ideological controller, has been promoting "socialist realism" in the Soviet arts and literature; it would seem that it is "socialist funerealism" that prevails in Soviet life. However, "interim" a leader Chernenko may turn out to be, neither the problems of the "real" succession, nor the problems of the Soviet economy can be swept under the carpet.

In this issue of **SURVEY** we scrutinize Andropov's 15 months in power and analyse what Chernenko's succession may signal. We also have an extended analysis of the problem of Soviet economic reform which includes a sensational Soviet document—the leaked **Novosibirsk Report.**

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policy
REVIEW

*Successful writers traditionally have the run of society, but Cockburn's party line raises eyebrows at the* Village Voice. *"I think he lives in a different world from mine," said Jack Newfield. "He goes to Elaine's. He gets invited to dinner parties at Lillian Hellman's."*

From "Alex Cockburn's Popular Front,"
by Charlotte Hays.

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